BS HISTORY

Pakistan and the World Affairs: Issues & Challenges

(BS HISTORY PROGRAMME)

Code: 9199 **Units: 1-9**



Department of History
Allama Iqbal Open University, Islamabad

BS History

Course Code 9199

Pakistan and the World Affairs: Issues & Challenges

Department of History

Allama Iqbal Open University

Islamabad

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FOREWORD

The curriculum at AIOU is designed on modern parameters using the latest information, including updates on recent trends, theories, and techniques. An extensive consultative process is also a basic component of the activity. The development of the study material to help the students throughout the country is a challenge. AIOU takes pride in undertaking this major task for the effective learning of the students.

BS History (4 Year) is being offered by the Department of History, Allama Iqbal University, for students who are interested in the discipline of History. The scheme of studies for BS History (4 Year) has been designed, and the courses are developed to make them relevant to the emerging national and global trends and to meet the needs of society in this domain. The study material provides a comprehensive coverage of the core contents of the BS History (4 Year) Program. The selection of, and the treatment of, study materials have been designed to meet both general and specific aims set out by the Higher Education Commission (HEC) through the National Curriculum Revision Committee (NCRC).

In the end, I am happy to extend my gratitude to the course team, Chairperson, Course Development Coordinator, unit writers, reviewers, and editor for the development of the course. Any suggestions for the improvement of the course will be warmly welcomed by the Department of History.

Prof. Dr Nasir Mehmud,
Vice Chancellor

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I am grateful to Dr. Humera Ejaz, Farhat Akram & Dr. Akhtar Hussain for the editing & review of this course, and proofreading is highly acknowledged.

Finally, I am Thankful to all who helped me develop this course. I would like to express my gratitude to the Course Team, reviewers, Editors, and Composing and Layout team for their invaluable contribution to the development of this study guide supporting this Study material.

Dr. Abdul Basit Mujahid

Course Coordinator

STRUCTURE OF THE COURSE

Pakistan and World Affairs: Issues and Challenges is a three-credit-hour course consisting of nine units. For example, Unit I relates to the Geo-Strategic Importance of Pakistan, so you are required to study topics, subtopics, and other related themes in the recommended books. The Department of History has recommended books for this course: Burke, S. M. Pakistan's Foreign Policy: A Historical Analysis, and Amin, Shahid M. Pakistan's Foreign Policy Reappraisal. A unit is a study of 12-16 hours or coursework for two weeks. Since the coursework of one unit will include studying suggested reading materials and recommended books, the length of the units is unequal. It is upon you to arrange a timetable for your study to complete the work within the allocated time. The coursework is split into 9 units. We expect you to complete it within the scheduled study period. You are required to study the prescribed reading material within the scheduled period. After completing the study of the first 4 units, assignment no. 1 is due, and the second assignment is due after the completion of coursework of the next five units. You will also find a list of the suggested readings for your assignment and final examinations.

GUIDELINES TO STUDY MATERIAL

Read the whole unit and make notes of those points that you could not fully understand or wish to discuss with your course tutor.

Step 1

Go through the:

1. Methods
2. Recommended Book
3. Suggested Readings

Step 2

Read the whole unit and make notes of those points that you could not fully understand or wish to discuss with your course tutor.

Step 3

Go through the self-assessment questions at the end of each unit. If you find any difficulty in comprehension or locating relevant material, discuss it with your tutor.

Step 4

Study the compulsory book for at least three hours a week, included in your study package sent to you by the Department of History, AIOU. Try to read it with the help of a specific study guide for the course. You can raise questions on both during your scheduled tutorial meetings.

Step 5

First, go through the assignments that are required to solve/complete for this course. Highlight all the points that you think are difficult to tackle, and then discuss them in detail with your tutor. This exercise will keep you regular and ensure good results in the form of good marks.

Workshops:

Workshops are usually held online through the LMS Portal and Teams at the end of each Semester. Attendance is compulsory in workshops. A student will not be declared a pass until he/she attend the workshop satisfactorily and actively.

Revision before the Final Examination:

- It is very important that you revise as systematically as you have been studying. You may find the following suggestions helpful:
- Go through the course unit by one. If you haven't already taken notes, do so now.
- Prepare a chronology with short notes on the topics/events/ personalities included in all units on political history.
- Go through your assignments and check your weak areas in each case.
- Test yourself on each of the main topics, writing down the main points or going through all the notes.
- Make sure to attend the last tutorial meetings and revise all the points that you find difficult to comprehend.
- For the final exam paper, go through a few previous papers. This can be of help in understanding questions and deciding how to frame an answer.

Before your final exams, make sure that:

- You get your roll-number slip,
- You know where the examination centre is
- You know the date and time of the examination.

Note

You can get information regarding your assignments, workshop schedule, results, tutors, and final examination from the AIOU website, www.aiou.edu.pk. You are advised to regularly visit the university website to update yourself about the activities of the university.

INTRODUCTION OF THE COURSE

The world at large is now becoming a Global Village, and, in this context, to equip students with the know-how of Pakistan's relations with the international community and role in world affairs is vital to study. This course will focus on international issues at large and Pakistan's role.

The geography of Pakistan has remained a significant factor in shaping the political, economic, and strategic dynamics of the country because of its location at the crossroads of civilizations. The geo-strategic significance of Pakistan cannot be denied. At the end of the Cold War and the advent of terrorist attacks on the World

Trade Centre, followed by the invasion of the United States of Afghanistan in 2001, in this context, Pakistan came into the limelight. These events have given a new dimension to Pakistan's regional and international outlook, and this is owed to the geographical location of Pakistan. Geo-strategy, as a subfield of foreign policy, is guided by the geographical location of any country. The foreign policy of any country reflects both its internal and external factors. Dynamics. It also consists of actions taken by the policy and decision makers, achieving short-term and long-term goals based on the national interest of Pakistan. There are various determinants through which one can indicate the trends in the shaping of the foreign policy of any country. There are various determinants of the foreign policy of Pakistan, both internal and external, which affect the formation of foreign policy. These determinants are important to understand, in a sense, to know how foreign policy is being made.

During the Cold War era, superpowers used various states to fight their wars. According to various definitions given by scholars, a superpower is those states that have a strong influence over the events of international politics. The most significant among them is the United States-sponsored Jihad in Afghanistan against the Soviet Union with the support of Pakistan, of the Soviet Union. This reflects how a superpower influences the foreign policy of Pakistan to get involved in the war. Similar to great powers, major powers also play their significant role in influencing the events of international politics, although less powerful than the great powers, these major powers even influence the role of great powers in the international system. Pakistan's relations with these major powers i.e., China, France, Great Britain, and Germany, are significant as well. It is also important to note here that these major powers are permanent members of the Security Council of United Nations Security Council. They have the power of Veto to support or reject any resolution on issues of interest. In order to understand Pakistan's foreign policy, it is equally significant to know about Pakistan's relations with Various countries of the other regions of the world.

In this course, we will discuss in length Pakistan's relations with countries of the region, including the Middle East, Central Asia, South Asia, Southeast Asia, West Asia, Africa, and South America. Pakistan is the leading country of the Muslim world. It is the only Muslim country with nuclear power status. Pakistan has always remained an ardent supporter of the Muslim world in solving unresolved disputes. Sadly, noting that most of the international conflicts are related to the Muslim world, e.g. disputes including Kashmir, Palestine, Nagorno-Karabakh, Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, and Afghanistan. Along with giving historical facts, the course also reflects upon Pakistan's standpoint and support for the cause of just solutions to the problems. Pakistan and Afghanistan share deep-rooted historical, cultural, and religious links for many centuries, even before the inception of Pakistan. Because of the long border that Pakistan and Afghanistan share, both countries are often called twin brothers. However, throughout the relations, we have observed chilliness in relations. International Organisations are established to cooperate on specific matters. The first organization that was established to cooperate was the International Telecommunication

Union, which was founded in 1865 as the International Telegraph Union, and the Universal Postal Union was established in 1874. In this course, we will be discussing various organizations and the role of Pakistan in these organizations.
Pakistan has been facing ups and downs in its domestic economic structure. To support this important national interest, Pakistan applied for sufficient help and support from the world economic bodies and banks. These financial institutions have lent debts to Pakistan from time to time, and at the domestic political front, it has been disliked by the public to get support from these institutions. It is believed that these financial institutions are making Pakistan's economy weaker in terms of generating its own cycle of development. In this course, we will also be discussing various such institutions and the role of Pakistan in working with them.

Objectives

Key objectives of the course:

- The major aims and objectives of this course are to introduce students to the role of Pakistan in International politics.
- Various units are designed keeping in focus the needs of the students to enhance their knowledge about Pakistan’s foreign policy and world affairs.
- The course will enable students to understand and analyze world events involving Pakistan, such as those they read about in the newspapers and current affairs magazines.
- The course would also give insight into the making and shaping of the foreign policy of Pakistan and how it has been influenced over the years by various factors, including the role of superpowers, major powers, and internal and external dynamics.
- This course will equip students with the historical facts affecting the contemporary relations of Pakistan with the outside world.
- The course also intends to provide the foundation for further study of Pakistan’s foreign policy.

Unit 1

Geo-Strategic Importance of Pakistan

Written by: **Dr Farhat Akram**

Reviewed by: **Dr Akhtar Hussain**

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1. Introduction

The geography of Pakistan has remained a significant factor in shaping the political, economic, and strategic dynamics of the country. As a result of its location at the crossroads of civilizations, the geostrategic significance of Pakistan cannot be denied. At the end of the Cold War and the advent of terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centre, followed by the invasion of the United States of Afghanistan in 2001, Pakistan came into the limelight. These events have given a new dimension to Pakistan's regional and international outlook, which is largely due to the country's geographical location.

Geo-strategy, as a subfield of foreign policy, is guided by the geographical location of any country. The chapter is designed to familiarize the students with the impact of the geography of Pakistan on its foreign policy.

Objectives:

After reading this unit, the students will be able to:

- Understand the geography of Pakistan
- Know about the significance of Pakistan's geography and its geostrategic location.
- Understand what the advantages and disadvantages of Pakistan's geography are.
- Know how the geography of Pakistan influenced in shaping and making of foreign policy in Pakistan.
- Compare and understand Pakistan's role in world and regional affairs.

1.1: Geographical Location of Pakistan:

Pakistan is lying at a very significant geographical location, having borders with Afghanistan to its northwest, Iran to its west, while China borders the country in the north, and India to the east. Pakistan is one of the rare countries whose each province has international borders, which gives its geography a unique aspect. The country is located at a crossroads of civilizations, where the Khyber Pass and Bolan Pass have remained the regional traditional migration routes between Central Asia and South Asia.

1.2: Geography: Blessing or a Curse:

This geographical location has also remained a blessing and has proved as a disadvantage for Pakistan. The concept of the geo-strategic location of Pakistan has remained the point of ponder for scholars. Geo-strategic significance means how much importance has been attached to Pakistan in terms of its geography and its location. Pakistan is located at the junction of Central, South, and West Asia, thus linking resource-rich countries with resource-deficient countries. On the North-Western side of Pakistan, countries like Iran and the Central Asian Republics (a small Wakan strip divides the two) are rich in energy resources, while the countries on the Eastern side, like India, China, and the ASEAN region, are either fast-developing economies or Asian giants whose lifeline is energy. Pakistan is thus a major route for energy pipelines. Two of the major pipelines, Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India- India (TAPI) and Iran-Pakistan and India (IPI) pipeline are the two pipelines, with which many wishes for peace in the region have been aspired and attached.

The geography of Pakistan has provided the country with an abundance of water and other resources. Water resources have remained the source of conflict between India and Pakistan for decades till the signing of the Indus Water Treaty of 1960. Pakistan's agriculture is entirely dependent on the irrigation system and dams. The Indus River system and its tributaries provide Pakistan with some of the most fertile land in the Indian subcontinent. The geographical location of these rivers has made Pakistan a lower riparian state. Thus, Pakistan was vulnerable to any move made by India to stop or narrow down the flow of water. Most of the water disputes have always marred the relations between India and Pakistan. Under the Indus Water Basin Treaty of 1960, three western rivers, namely the Indus, Jhelum, and Chenab, are to be used exclusively by Pakistan. India has also been allowed to develop 13, 43,477 acres of irrigated cropped area on the western rivers without any restriction on the quantum of water to be utilized.[1] At the time of independence in 1947, the irrigation system, conceived originally as a whole, was divided between India and Pakistan without regard to irrigated boundaries. This resulted in the creation of an international water dispute in 1948, which was finally resolved by the enforcement of the Indus Water Treaty in 1960 under the aegis of the World Bank.

[1] Pakistan Council of Research in Water Resources, http://www.pcrwr.gov.pk/; http://www.pakissan.com/english/watercrisis/overview.of.water.resources.in.pakistan.shtml

1.3: Pakistan as a Transit Route:

Geo-strategic location of Gwadar port is another significant factor that made Pakistan's location one of the important in the region. By its finest location, development projects, recreational programmes, and Government special attention will soon turn it into a city that can be comparable with cities like Singapore, Hong Kong, and Dubai. Gwadar is the western port city of Pakistan, and it has immense strategic significance. It lies near the Straits of Hormuz, the gateway to the Gulf through which 40% of the world's oil passes. The port also has a great commercial attraction.

Along with Gwadar, Pakistan is also one of the significant countries that can provide access to warm waters to landlocked Central Asian states. Pakistan remains the logical trade corridor for Central Asia and has great potential to become an important factor in the region. This, nevertheless requires a stable Afghanistan and a strategy on the part of Islamabad to build relations with its northern border. Pakistan had many collaborative efforts to enhance its link with this region by extending bilateral and multilateral support regarding economic well-being. Since the independence of the CARs, Pakistan has been among the few states that have established diplomatic relations with these landlocked republics. Frequent high-level visits and exchanges of delegations have taken place. Agreements ranging from technical assistance, trade, cooperation on the spheres of water resource, power generation, irrigation and land reclamation, scientific and technical cooperation, spheres of post and telecommunication, reciprocal promotion and protection of investment, cultural exchange, formation of the joint commission at government level, transport, and transit trade, to drugs narcotics and terrorism, were the few endeavours which Pakistan and CARs tried to explore.

Recent history tells us that 'oil is a commodity as well as politics'.[2] Energy resources play an extremely important role as strategic drivers. Rich energy resources are the lifeblood of thriving economies. Since its independence oil oil-rich CARs have waited in vain for their oil and gas to reach outside markets. Landlocked and surrounded by Russia, Iran, Afghanistan, and China, the Central Asian States have manoeuvred relentlessly for pipelines to be built that would end their isolation, free them from economic dependence on Russia, and earn hard currency to refloat their economies after the devastation wrought by the breakup of the Soviet Union. For 70 years, all their communication links-roads, railways, and pipelines – were built heading east to Russia. Now, they wanted to build links with the Arabian Sea, the Indian Ocean, the Mediterranean, and China.[3] With growing oil prices, the thrust for cheaper imported gas has acquired a greater urgency than ever before. To fulfil energy requirements, countries like Pakistan, India, Iran, and China have leaned their thrust even to develop civilian nuclear technology to meet the needs of ever-expanding economies.

Both projects (IPI) and (TAPI) would provide gas to the Asian developing countries, including Pakistan, India, and China, and beyond the region. These states have limited oil/liquid reserves to meet their demands. High prices and a limited supply of oil signify the option of gas, which is cheaper, cleaner, and plentiful, and in an increasingly environmentally conscious world, developed countries see this as an attractive alternative to oil and mineral fuels. Hence, oil-producing states of the Persian Gulf are striving to develop their gas supplies to supplement their decreasing oil reserves. While the landlocked Central Asian States offer energy-hungry economies

[2] Cited in Asma Khawja *Pakistan and the " New Great Game* (Islamabad: IPRI, April 2003), 7.

[3] Ahmad Rashid, *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia,* (I.B.Tauris Publications: London,2000), 144.

to invest in and evolve effective methods to transfer resources. These states have an abundance of proven and unproven gas and oil reserves that are awaiting exploration. The states must develop national strategies for robust exploration of not only indigenous resources, but also require enhancing transnational energy options to meet the constraints.[4]

1.4: Geo-Political Significance of Pakistan's Position: Role in New Great Game

Pakistan has been blessed with a location that is in the neighbours by great powers, including Russia and China. Any alliance with these great powers further enhances its significance manyfold. After the events of 9/11 and the beginning of the war on terror, Pakistan's role as a front-line ally has increased its presence in world politics. Pakistan's role in the new Great Game is because of its geographical location and its power to hold and participate in competition and cooperation for the riches in this region. The term 'The Great Game ' was first coined by Captain Arthur Connolly (1807-1842), but it was Rudyard Kipling who first popularized the phrase in his novel " Kim" during the early years of the 20th century.[5] The term " Great Game " was used to describe the 19th-century rivalry between Russia and Britain over the territory lying between India and Russia. It was a "shadowy struggle for political ascendancy" that took place for most of the 19th and 20th centuries between the British and Russian empires over Central Asia.[6] As late as the 19th century, Sir Halford Mackinder, the founding father of modern geopolitics, would describe Central Asia as the political center of the world because it enclosed more frontiers than any other region. Whoever controlled Central Asia would wield enormous power."[7]

After the Cold War, Russia continued to play a dominant role in this region, specifically Central Asia, but other great powers- the US and China –also stepped in, forcing rapid geopolitical shifts in the foreign policies of the states of this region, including Pakistan. Big powers first emerged with the competition to exploit the oil and gas resources of the Caspian Sea and Central Asia, but it soon extended to other issues of strategic importance. Central Asia's situation at the centre of the huge landmass remained a major disadvantage, and the great powers have tried to devise policies that would allow them to control its access to sea and trade routes and keep out the competition.[8] The US, China, and Russia are the major powers that continue to compete in this new Great Game that emerged after the September 11 events.

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[4] Farhat Asif, " Entangled in Energy Web" , *The Nation,* May 12,2008, http://www.nation.com.pk/pakistan-news-newspaper-daily-english-online/Business/12-May-2008/Entangled-in-energy-web

[5] For detailed study of the concept and events of the " Great Game" see P. Hopkirk, The *Great Game: the Struggle for empire in Central Asia* (New York: Kodansha International, 1994), Ahmad Rashid, *Jihad: The Rise of Militant Islam in Central Asia*,(Yale: Yale University Press, 2002),187-207, Lutz Kleveman, *The New Great Game*, Matthew Edwards, "The New Great Game and the new great gamer: Disciples of Kipling and Mackinder", *Current History* 22, no.1(March ,2003), 83-102.

[6] Ibid, 2.

[7] Ahmad Rashid, J*ihad: The Rise of Militant Islam in Central Asia* (Lahore: Vanguard, 2002),187-188.

[8] Ibid,189.

Like other regional countries and world powers, Pakistan is making concerted efforts to obtain maximum economic benefits from this region. There is no avoiding the fact that Russia has an influence on the Central Asian States and this region in the political and economic spheres. In addition, Iran and Turkey have historical and cultural ties with these states. Moreover, the U.S. military presence in the region disturbs the balance of power in Central Asia. China and the European Union have their own interest for which they compete with the rest of the powers. Though lying near the Central Asian Republics, Pakistan is not geographically linked with any of them. Except for the Wakhan border, the territory of Afghanistan has to be crossed before entering the nearest state of Central Asia. Therefore, political stability in and friendly relations with Afghanistan are necessary to make any substantial development in this Great Game.

U.S. benefits in the region are to surround the growing China, contain nuclear Iran, control Afghanistan, and take advantage of the market of India. Securing its economic and strategic interests in the region are the two main goals of U.S. policy in this region. The politics in this region are transforming and affecting international politics from being unipolar to a multipolar world. In all these regional Games played by major powers, without Pakistan, the benefits are minimal, also been accepted by many scholars and analysts from around the world.

Self-Assessment Questions:

1. How would you explain the role of geography in shaping Pakistan's foreign policy?
2. What is the significance of the geography of Pakistan?
3. What is a Great Game?
4. What is Pakistan's role in the New Great Game?
5. How can Pakistan benefit from being a transit route country for the energy-rich countries of the Central Asian region?

Suggested Readings:

1. Ali, Mehrunnisa*, Readings in Pakistan Foreign Policy* Ed, (Karachi: Oxford University Press),
2. Amin, M. Shahid, *Pakistan's foreign policy: a reappraisal(* London: Oxford University Press, 2000),
3. Burke, S. M., *Pakistan's foreign policy: a historical analysis(* Oxford University Press, 1973)
4. Brzezinski, Zbigniew. *The Grand Chessboard: American Primary and its Geostrategic Imperatives*,(Shanghai: Shanghai Publications House, 1998).
5. Edwards, Matthew "The New Great Game and the New Great Gamer: Disciples of Kipling and Mackinder", *Current History* 22, no.1 (March, 2003), 83-102.
6. Hopkirk, P., The *Great Game: the Struggle for Empire in Central Asia* (New York: Kodansha International, 1994),
7. Kleveman, Lutz, *the New Great Game: Blood and Oil in Central Asia* (London: Atlantic, 2003).
8. Rashid, Ahmad *Jihad: The Rise of Militant Islam in Central Asia*,(Yale: Yale University Press, 2002),187-207,
9. Rashid, Ahmad J*ihad: The Rise of Militant Islam in Central Asia* (Lahore: Vanguard, 2002).

Unit 2

Major Determinants of Pakistan's Foreign Policy and Its Objectives

Written by: Dr Farhat Akram

Reviewed by: Dr Akhtar Hussain

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2. Introduction

The foreign policy of any country is a reflection of its internal and external dynamics. It also consists of actions taken by the policy and decision-makers to achieve short-term and long-term goals based on the national interest of Pakistan. There are various determinants through which one can indicate the trends in the shaping of the foreign policy of any country.
In this unit, we will discuss in length these various determinants of the foreign policy of Pakistan, both internal and external, which are affecting the formation of foreign policy. These determinants are important to understand, in a sense, to know how the foreign policy is being made.

Objectives

After reading this unit, you will be able to:

- Know the foreign policy of Pakistan
- Understand various dynamics of the foreign policy of Pakistan
- Learn about the principles of Pakistan's foreign policy
- Know the formation of the foreign policy of Pakistan
- Know the various determinants of the foreign policy of Pakistan
- Know various factors that affect the formation of the foreign policy of Pakistan
- Learn to understand the role of Pakistan in international affairs.

2.1: Foreign Policy:

Various definitions of foreign policy can be given as "the sum of official external relations conducted by an independent actor (usually a state) in international relations."[9]. According to F.S. Northedge, "Foreign policy is the use of political influence to induce other states to exercise their lawmaking power in a manner desired by the state concerned. It is an interaction between forces originating outside the country's border and those working within it. In the international system, countries pursue their foreign policy according to their national interest. These national interests are based on certain factors or principles.[10] Ayub Khan once defined foreign policy as "The foreign policy of a country is in a sense a projection of its internal policies, social, political, and economic." P. A Reynolds defined Foreign Policy as "The range of actions taken by varying sections of the government of a state in its relations with other bodies similarly acting on the international stage, to advance the national interests."[11] Also, Foreign policy behavior refers to the actions states take toward each other. It is important to note that these actions usually are not taken as ends in themselves but are tied in some way to larger purposes, from long-run aspirations to more immediate aims that national leaders hope to achieve in their dealings with other countries.[12]

The major objective of any country's foreign policy is to pursue and promote its national interest, protect the sovereignty and security of its borders, and ensure peace and coexistence in the International system. National interest is defined and often referred to as the raison d'état of the state, which reflects a country's goals and ambitions in international relations. The pursuit of national interest is the foundation of the realist school. The national interest of a state is multifaceted, and it is important to pursue the national interest in the avenues of wealth, economic growth, and power. The term "national interest" has been used by statesmen and scholars since the founding of nation-states to describe the aspirations and goals of sovereign entities in the international arena. Today, diplomats and foreign ministers describe their vital interests of their countries in ways suggesting that everyone understands precisely what they mean and will draw the correct inference from their use of the term. [13]

2.2: Principles of Pakistan's Foreign Policy:

First and foremost, Pakistan's foreign policy is based on the promotion of peace and security at the regional and international level while having an aspiration for the peaceful coexistence of nations in the world system. It also aims at enhancing the country's socio-economic development and progress. Pakistan is a member of the United Nations and abides by the principles of the UN Charter, where it seeks friendship and cooperation in international relations based on sovereign equality, mutual respect and benefit, non-interference, and peaceful settlement of the long-standing disputes. If we analyze Pakistan's foreign policy, then it is based on its Islamic Ideology, history, geographical location, and aspirations of its people. The policy is flexible and can be adjusted, keeping in view the core objectives, according to the emerging situations.

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[9] Christopher Hill, *The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 3.
[10] Parkash Chander, *International Relations,* (New Delhi: Cosmos Bookhive Pvt: 1996), 67.
[11] Philip Alan Reynolds, *British foreign policy in the inter-war years* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Pr., 1974.), 15.
[12] M. Imtiaz Shahid, *International Relation, yesterday, today, tomorrow,* (Lahore: Carwan Enterprises, 1995,), 129.
[13] Donald E. Nuechterlein, "National Interests and Foreign Policy: A conceptual framework for Analysis and decision-making", *British Journal of International Studies*, 2, no. 3 (Oct., 1976), 246-266.

To reflect the aspiration of our founding father about the foreign policy of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, so eloquently and timelessly stated as far back as 1948:
"Our foreign policy is one of friendliness and goodwill towards the nations of the world. We do not cherish aggressive designs against any country or nation. We believe in the principle of honesty and fair play in national and international dealings and appear to make our utmost contribution to the promotion of peace and prosperity among the nations of the world. Pakistan will never be found lacking in upholding the principles of the United Nations Charter."
The essence of Pakistan's Foreign Policy is:-

- Develop friendly relations with all countries, particularly the Muslim world, major powers, and immediate neighbors;
- Safeguard vital security and geo-strategic interests of Pakistan ;
- Resolve the core issue of Jammu and Kashmir by the resolutions of the UN Security Council and the wishes of the Kashmiri people;
- Promote the image of Pakistan as a strong, dynamic, progressive, moderate, and democratic Islamic country;
- Augment economic and commercial interests abroad; and
- Protect the interests of Pakistan's expatriate community abroad.[14]

2.3: Determinants of Pakistan's Foreign Policy

Those factors that influence and determine the foreign policy of a country are its determinants. Some of these factors are static or of an unchanging nature, whereas others are in a state of flux and their dynamics are continually adjusted to the changing circumstances. It is also very important to understand and keep in mind that any country's foreign policy is an extension of its domestic policy. There is often coordination in a way that both domestic and foreign factors influence each other. If there exists no proper synchronization between the two, then the integrity, security, and aspirations of the people of that country can easily be weakened. Ignoring the domestic realities in the formulation of foreign policy can cause a serious dent to any country's approach towards its role in regional and international politics. And any state formulates and shapes its foreign policy keeping in view its domestic compulsions. It is also obvious, and one cannot deny the fact that there is a consistent interaction of domestic factors and international scenarios resulting in a comprehensive and responsive foreign policy. Thus, contours of foreign policy are shaped, amongst other things, by these external factors and internal compulsions. Pakistan's geography makes it a potential to become the inter-regional hub. Pakistan has also offered itself to become a trade and energy route for the landlocked Central Asian States. However, at the same time, its location places rather excessive demands on it in the domain of security. Pakistan's regional security perspective is primarily formed by the historic troubled ties with India.
According to Roscoe Poudn, "Domestic policy is social control through law; foreign policy is the use of political influence to induce other states to exercise their law-making power in a manner desired by the state concerned. [15] Every state has its way of defining and setting the course of foreign policy, while there are also certain factors that determine the foreign policy of Pakistan. Often, domestic policies have to be made subservient to foreign policy because, without success

[14] "Pakistan's Foreign Relations", http://www.pakistanpaedia.com/relations/relations.html (accessed June 7,2012)
[15] H.K. Chabra, *Relations of Nations,* (Vol-VII, Foreign Policies of Major Countries), (Delhi: 1980),2

in foreign policy, there would be no domestic policy left to pursue. Similarly, many domestic needs are to be fulfilled by pursuing a particular foreign policy in the light of those domestic needs.[16] We shall be discussing in detail about these factors. We may divide these determinants into external factors and internal factors.

2.3.1: Internal Factors

2.3.1.1: Ideology17

Pakistan was formed in the name of Islam with an aspiration that Muslims of the subcontinent would be living in a nation state where Muslims can live with independence and ease to perform all their religious obligation, prosper in the field of education and economics without the subjugation of Hindus. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan once said that Hindus and Muslims couldn't progress as a single nation. He was convinced in his vision that both are separate nations and they cannot wholeheartedly join in anything. [18] Pakistan was created in a sense to have a country where Muslims have their own identity and they must practice their religious and ideological orientation without being merged with Hindus. As Pakistan is an ideological state based on Islam, it is not only seeking to promote closer links with the Islamic countries but has been a champion of advocating the rights of developing countries, including Muslim countries in particular. Dr Allama Muhammad Iqbal said in his famous address of 1930, said "Personally, I would like to go further than the demand embodied in it. I would like to see the Punjab, Northwest Frontier Province, Sindh, and Balochistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-government within the British Empire or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim state appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslim, at least of the Muslim at the least of North West India. [19] Thus, the significant feature of this ideology and its pursuance is to make the Muslim Brotherhood a living reality. We maintain and hold that Muslims and Hindus are two major nations by any definition or test of a nation. We are a nation of a hundred million people, and, what is more, we are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions – in short, we have our distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of international law, we are a nation. This kind of ideological orientation has remained vital in formulating the basis of the foreign policy for the future, where Muslims and their deep-rooted connections with Pakistan were significant. Pakistan was once and is still considered as "Castle of Islam" because it is the only nuclear state of the Muslim World.

2.3.1.2: Geography or Size:

The geographical location of a state like Pakistan is a significant factor in determining and defining its foreign policy.

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[16] Muhammad Younas, *Foreign Policy, A Theoretical Introduction,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 72.
[17] Stephen Philip Cohen, *the Idea of Pakistan (*Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2004).

[18] Syed Sallahuddin, *Foreign Policy of Pakistan A Critical Study,* (Karachi,. Comprehensive Books Service, 1996), 5.
[19]"Sir Muhammad Iqbal's 1930 Presidential Address to the 25th Session of the All-India Muslim League Allahabad, December 29 , 1930",

It matters who one's neighbors are and whether a given country is territorially large, populous, affluent, and well-governed. Geographical factors exercise a permanent and paramount influence on the foreign policy of a country. Keeping in view this context, the most significant challenge is Pakistan's unique geographical location, where it neighbors two of the major powers, Russia and China, while to the East is India, and to the West is Afghanistan and Iran, and also there is geographical proximity to the Persian Gulf. This geography not only provides a challenge but also offers enormous opportunities. Two of the neighbors, India and Afghanistan, share the larger borders, and the relationship between the two states has remained unstable since the time of their inception. Neither side didn't accepted the reality of Pakistan. Afghanistan was the first Muslim country in the United Nations that voted against Pakistan's membership in the UN and didn't accept it as a sovereign nation, while the relationship with India has a long, tumultuous history of relations. The issue of Jammu and Kashmir is a threatening conflict that is still going on between Pakistan and India. Recently, the Composite Dialogue peace process between Pakistan and India has been going on, which includes negotiations on eight issues between the two countries. Analysts have various dynamic views regarding the standpoints of both states on issues, including Kashmir. According to Indiana University's Summit Ganguly, India requires the Muslim-dominated Himalayan territory to substantiate its claim as a multi-confessional democracy, rather than as a Hindu-dominated state, whereas Pakistan requires Kashmir to substantiate its claim as the chief remnant of Muslim al-Hind.[20]

2.3.1.3: Historical Influence:

The foreign policy of a country is, to a large extent, the legacy of its history. And Pakistan is simply no exception. Each country possesses an individuality of its own, which is the outcome of its historical and geographical configuration. The cultural and historical traditions go a long way in molding the foreign policy of a state. To a large extent, the approach of a nation to foreign problems is determined by its traditional values and beliefs that have emerged throughout history. Though the leadership can make modifications in these values and beliefs, it cannot go very far. [21] Pakistan has inherited various legacies of the past, which are still lingering on, and based on those legacies and troubled history, the foreign policy has taken this shape. Pakistan's regional approach towards India and India's to that of China is all about historical traditions.

We can easily divide Pakistan's foreign policy since independence into phases, which most analysts do. These are a. 1947-53: Explorations and friendship with all b. 1953-62: Alignment with the West, c. 1962-71: Transition; d. 1972-79: Bilateralism and nonalignment e. 1980-90: Afghanistan and Partnership with the U.S.; f. 1990-2001: Post-Cold War Era and Pakistan's Dilemmas; g. 2001 onwards: Pakistan and Counter Terrorism[22].

During the first phase role of Quaid-I-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah has remained influential as he provided guidance in his talks and speeches about the pursuit of relations with other countries. Later, Pakistan joined the United Nations[23] and also became an active member of the Commonwealth[24]. During this formidable phase, Pakistani leadership tried to develop contacts

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[20] Robert D. Kaplan, What's wrong with Pakistan, *Foreign Policy,* June 18,2012, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/06/18/whats_wrong_with_pakistan?page=0,3 (accessed June 8,2012)

[21] Amir Rizwan, Determinates of Foreign Policy, http://amerrizwan.blogspot.com/(accessed June 8, 2012)

[22] Hasan Askari Rizvi, " Overview of Pakistan's Foreign Policy", Briefing Paper, http://www.millat.com/democracy/Foreign%20Policy/Briefing_Paper_english_11.pdf ,(accessed June 8,2012)

[23] Pakistan joined United Nations Organization just a month after independence on 30 September,1974

[24] Joined Commonwealth:1947 (left in 1972, rejoined in 1989), http://www.thecommonwealth.org/YearbookHomeInternal/138945/

with other states, emphasizing the development of relations on the basis of friendship, cooperation, and promotion of peace and harmony, support for the liberation of the colonized people, and strict observance of principles of the UN charter. Most of the problems developed with India were related to and a product of the partition process, as set out by the plan of 3rd June 1947. These problems include the division of the funds and other assets of the British Indian government, including arms, equipment, and stores of the British Indian military; the large-scale killing of people at the time of independence and the subsequent communal riots; the religious minorities in the two states; the disposal of evacuee property; the river-water dispute; and bilateral trade. These disputes were coupled with controversies about the accession of the princely states of Junagadh, Hyderabad, and Jammu and Kashmir, and the outbreak of the first Kashmir war (1947-48). The ill-will generated by these problems was reinforced by the concentration of Indian troops on the border in the Punjab in 1950-51, when an armed conflict was narrowly averted. [25] Afghanistan, on the other refused to recognize Pakistan and put forward a territorial claim on Pakistan. Regarding the relations with International actors, including the U.S and Russia, Pakistan, the then Prime Minister Liaquat Ali gave his first visit to the U.S, and the invitation to the visit to Russia was left unattended. Pakistan also joined the Western alliances of Southeast Asia Treaty Organisation(SEATO) and Central Treaty Organization (CENTO).

The second phase of Pakistan's foreign policy was characterized by a transition from an independent foreign

policy to a multifaceted alignment with the West. Pakistan entered into a number of security arrangements with the United States and obtained economic and military assistance from that source, which entangled Pakistan in the Cold War between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. [26] The deep-rooted security concerns were the major reasons for Pakistan to join these pacts of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) in 1954 and CENTO in 1959. During this time, Pakistan received a huge amount of assistance and support in the field of defence and security sector from the West. During the third phase, Pakistan's policy makers began to review the policy of alignment with the West. A major reason for Pakistan to have a shift in the policy is because of the increasing U.S. support to India as a counterweight to China, while this has also been a threat to Pakistan. Also, as a result of this disappointment, Pakistan began moving towards and reflected its keen interest in enhancing relations with the Soviet Union and many heads of state paid visits to the USSR. This phase also reflected Pakistan's keenness to be neutral in world politics and remain pluralistic.

The third phase also sets in the essence of the fourth phase, which started after the unfortunate debacle of Dhaka, as Pakistan became a more neutral and enthusiastic supporter of the Non-Aligned Movement. Later, Pakistan also withdrew from CENTO as well reflecting its neutral tilt. The fourth phase is mostly characterized by the Soviet Invasion and Pakistan's role during this time. It was almost the height of the Cold War, Pakistan supported the Afghan groups fighting against the Soviets. In this proxy war, the U.S supported Pakistan with a huge amount of military and monetary support to win this war. Pakistan received a huge number of Afghan refugees, and this also resulted in the imbalance and economic crisis in Pakistan. In the phase that began after the end of the Cold War and the disintegration of the Soviet Union, four major issues dominated Pakistan's foreign policy in the 1990s. These were a drift in Pakistan-U.S. relations, the Afghanistan problem, the Kashmir insurgency and its impact on Indo-Pakistan relations, and the

[25] Ibid,.

[26] Ibid.,

nuclear explosions.[27] In the aftermath of the September 11 attacks, there was a U-turn in Pakistan's foreign policy as it again aligned itself with the War on Terror.

2.3.1.4: Natural Resources:

The natural resources of a country also profoundly influence the determination of a foreign policy. The natural resources, apart from minerals, gas and water resources, also include food grains. Sometimes the need for resources, either natural or others, made the countries depend on other states. In the case of Pakistan, it is also blessed with all the natural resources, but some are explored and some are unexplored. Natural resources include extensive natural gas, some oil, hydro power potential, coal (although not high quality), iron ore, copper, salt, and limestone. Agricultural products are wheat, cotton, rice, sugarcane, dairy products, fruit, vegetables, milk, beef, and mutton. Primary industry includes textiles, food processing, pharmaceuticals, construction materials, fertilizer, and paper products. Coal reserves are estimated at 175 billion tons. This would equate to 618 billion barrels of crude oil. When compared to oil reserves, his is more than twice the amount of the top four countries. [28] It can be said that Pakistan is rich in natural resources but poor in management, and that also led to various crises like situations in fields as energy. Pakistan has enormous potential of renewable and non-renewable energy resources, which is even greater than the oil-rich Gulf States, but still Pakistan is facing an energy shortage. This deficiency on the part of these countries, in particular, and the rest of the world in general, has been one of the important determinants of their foreign policies.

We can now say that the natural resources and raw materials play a very effective role and influence on the foreign policy of any country. In the absence of a sound industrial base, they can make a state vulnerable to foreign involvement, but with their domestic requirements and indigenous input, they can be a real boon for any country. In such a case, the state would pursue its foreign policy more confidently and assertively.

2.3.1.5: Economic and Industrial Development:

Economic and Industrial development is another factor that has a deep impact on the foreign policy-making of any state. One of the key objectives of any country is to diversify, expand, enhance, and strengthen its economic relations with the world. Pakistan is no exception in pursuing such of policy. Pakistan is one of the developing countries, and it aspires for economic development as well. To achieve this objective, Pakistan has a policy to maintain cordial relations with the states which it can get maximum economic benefits. Along with this, Pakistan has also joined many economic forums and international economic organizations to enhance its cooperation in the field. An increased and fast economic activity for any country results in the export of its goods, services, and raw materials to the outside world. Pakistan's foreign policy has always been in pursuit of exploring and securing markets for its raw materials, products, goods, and services. Countries explore these kinds of avenues to boost economic development, which is directly related to the living standard of the citizens of the given country's foreign policy. The driving force behind Pakistan's economic and commercial policies is to bring in foreign direct investment and diversify and enhance our export base. Pakistan is working to integrate itself in the regional and multi-lateral

[27] Ibid.,

[28]" Natural Resources of Pakistan" http://insider.pk/national/natural-resources-of-pakistan/ (accessed June 8,2012)

economic forums to benefit from being part of larger economic zones. In order to realize our broader objective of enhancing economic cooperation and creating greater equity, Pakistan is playing its significant role in various international and regional forums like the World Trade Organization(WTO). Pakistan is also playing its active role in promoting the rights of the developing countries at forums like the WTO, where it is asking to have a united front to suggest changes in the WTO procedures. Pakistan's concerns are that there should be equal distribution of the fruits of globalization, and this dominates the foreign policy priorities of Pakistan today. Pakistan's missions abroad are adjusting to this new reality and developing a fresh orientation towards the promotion of the nation's interests in the economic, commercial, and Technological fields. [29] The Foreign Ministry and the Ministry of Economic Affairs are also coordinating closely in order to promote the interests of Pakistan.

Another significant asset for Pakistan is its expatriates living abroad and earning goodwill and foreign exchange for Pakistan. Protection and promotion of the rights of these important citizens of Pakistan in foreign countries is also on our foreign policy agenda. These are the ones who are playing an active role in projecting Pakistan's image abroad, encourage foreign investment, and lobby for Pakistan at all levels in the countries of they live.

2.3.1.6: Military Power:

Search for security has remained one of the leading factors that shape and formulate the foreign policy of Pakistan since the time of inception. The security environment since the time of independence has remained unfavorable for Pakistan, and it continued its search for it till this time, either by having alliances or fighting proxy wars in return for aid from the superpowers. Joining CENTO and SEATO are two pacts in this case here, while the war against the Soviets and supporting the Taliban for the time being, and later moving on to become a neutral state having asserted support to the cause of the Non-Aligned movement, are a few of the shifts that Pakistan took in pursuit of security. This security syndrome was and is India-centric. Since the division and emergence of India and Pakistan, the hostility has been a continuous factor in South Asia. One of the major causes of the troubled relationship is the unresolved issue of Jammu and Kashmir. The issue is the source of continuing tensions and conflict and has shaped the unstable and tense security environment in the region. It is an international reality now that, besides all the preceding factors, the military strength of a country also determines the effectiveness of its foreign policy. The military strength of a country is closely linked to its resourcefulness and the development of its industry. A developed civil industry can be made to manufacture military hardware during times of war and crises. Both states are also involved in the arms race in the region. The height of which reached when India detonated and exploded its first ever nuclear test, and this created a balance in the region. Pakistan consequently conducted nuclear test explosions on 28th and 30th May 1998, thus establishing nuclear deterrence in the interest of its security and self-defence in the region.

2.3.1.7: Population

People of Pakistan are diverse, intelligent, hardworking, committed, and loyal to their country. Pakistan has a population of over 18 million. More than 70 per cent of the population consists of youth, which made it one of the youthful nations of the world. Recent study has also made

[29] Ibid,.

Pakistani nation as world's fourth intelligent nation. People of Pakistan are serving not only the country but also various institutions of the world as well. :The strength of any nation also depends upon the quality and quantity of the human factor. Qualitatively, the population should be healthy, educated, and prosperous. The population of the country can also be evaluated of its relations and utilization of the resources of the country. For instance, if there are enough resources to meet the requirements of the population, then this adds to the power of the state and enables it that state to further its foreign policy objectives, while if it is otherwise then that creates difficulty for the state and pose serious challenge to the very existence of the state. An example of U.S. and the Soviet Union in history can be quoted here. In the case of Pakistan, we have abundance of resources and our quality population but need of the hour is to strategies ways to utilize these resources for the benefit of the state.

2.3.2: External Factors:

As we have discussed that foreign policy is formulated keeping in view the external and internal factors, so it is also important here to discuss some of the factors that are affecting the foreign policy of Pakistan.

2.3.1: International Organisations and alliances:

Being in an alliance and joining any regional or international organization also has varying degrees of significance. These organizations and alliances also help in adjusting states' behavior in changing environments of world politics. Like any other country, Pakistan cannot afford to live in isolation in a continuously growing, interdependent world. Soon after independence, Pakistan joined the United Nations Organization as a sovereign state. Pakistan is equally vulnerable to the currents and cross-currents of the international system. Soon after independence, Pakistan faced the external threat from India, and for that matter, Pakistan joined various alliances with the Western powers led by the U.S. during the Cold War. Pakistan joined some regional organizations like SEATO and CENTO, but in the ultimate analysis, they harmed the country more than providing any tangible benefit, mainly because they were predominantly military and security-oriented, created to serve American strategic interests.

SAARC was created way back in 1985 to promote bonds of friendship and cooperation among countries of the region, but unfortunately, it could not make any headway due to vested interests and the narrow-minded approach of India. Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD) was instituted in 1964 by Pakistan, Turkey, and Iran to strengthen their socio-economic development and made some good progress in the initial years, but remained dormant for quite some time due to the volatile situation in Iran. Later on, this was renamed as the Economic Cooperation Organization.[30] To enhance its security, Pakistan extended its cooperation with China, which has always stood by Pakistan and proved to be a vital link for Pakistan's security and well-being. Pakistan also extends its alliances and close cooperation with countries like Iran, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and other Muslim states of the world. For economic cooperation, Pakistan joined various regional and international forums. Pakistan is also a member of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation, Shanghai Cooperation Organization, World Trade Organization, and Association of South East Asian Nations. Being part of these regional and international groupings, Pakistan has been able to acquire the benefits of economic and closer

[30] " Economic Cooperation Organisation," http://www.ecosecretariat.org/ (accessed June 8,2012)

cooperation. Quite recently, after the advent of the war on terror, Pakistan became non-NATO ally of the allied forces in the war against the extremist groups in Afghanistan. This designation as Non-NATO Allie is given by the government of the United States to those allies who have close strategic working relationships with US armed forces but are not members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. However, being a non-NATO Ally does not confer a mutual defence pact but a variety of military and financial advantages to the allies.

2.3.2: Response/Behavior of Other States:

Foreign policy is being kept in view of the response and behavior of the other states. In the community of nations, states consider and pursue their rights with regard to other states. The behavior of one state towards other states depends upon various factors and events. States formulate their foreign policy accordingly. The foreign policy of Pakistan is also shaped by the behavior of India at the beginning and Afghanistan. It is a fact now that no plan for the regional peace and stability in Afghanistan is possible without taking Pakistan on board. Pakistan, though not fully comfortable with being a willing partner in the Global War on Terror, has to be committed to the same owing to international concerns and being apprehensive of international backlash.

Assessment Questions:

1. Write a note on Pakistan's foreign policy.
2. Write a brief note on the principles of the foreign policy of Pakistan.
3. What are the various determinants of the foreign policy of Pakistan? Enlist.
4. What is the difference between external and internal determinants of foreign policy?
5. How can internal factors affect the formation of foreign policy?
6. What is the significance of geography in shaping of foreign policy of Pakistan?
7. What is the role of the ideology of Pakistan in its foreign policy?
8. How do external factors affect Pakistan's foreign and domestic policy?
9. Explain the various phases of Pakistan's foreign policy.
10. How population of a country influence the external policy of a country?

Suggested Readings:

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2. Parkash Chander, *International Relations,* (New Delhi: Cosmos Bookhive Pvt: 1996).
3. Philip Alan Reynolds, *British foreign policy in the inter-war years* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Pr., 1974.).
4. M. Imtiaz Shahid, *International Relation, yesterday, today, tomorrow* (Lahore: Carwan Enterprises, 1995).
5. Donald E. Nuechterlein, "National Interests and Foreign Policy: A conceptual framework for Analysis and decision-making", *British Journal of International Studies*, 2, no. 3 (Oct., 1976).
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13. Muhammad Younas, *Foreign Policy, a Theoretical Introduction,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).
14. Stephen Philip Cohen, *the Idea of Pakistan (*Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2004).

Unit 3

Pakistan and Superpowers

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3. Introduction

The term superpower refers to the nuclear age of the Cold War era when the United States and the former Soviet Union were at loggerheads with each other through proxies and an arms race. During this era, these powers used various states to fight their wars. According to various definitions given by scholars, a superpower is those states that have a strong influence over the events of international politics. The most significant among these is the United States-sponsored Jihad in Afghanistan against the Soviet Union with support from Pakistan, resulting in the disintegration of the Soviet Union. This reflects how a superpower influences Pakistan's foreign policy to get involved in the war. The current War on Terror initiated by the United States is a similar tale where Pakistan is a front-line ally.

This unit explains in detail the relationship between Pakistan and Superpowers, including the United States and Russia, in a chronological way. We have divided the whole course of relations between the powers and Pakistan, since independence, into a phase-wise division.

Objectives

After reading this unit, you will be able to:

- Be able to understand the role of superpowers in world politics.
- Be able to know more about the role of Pakistan in the politics of Superpowers.
- Be able to enhance your knowledge about the history of the relations between Pakistan and the superpowers.
- Be able to update yourself with the new age of power's key role in the current state of international politics.

3.1: Pakistan-United States Relations:

Pakistan and the United States established diplomatic relations in October 1947. Since the beginning, the nature of the relations has been based on economic and military assistance to Pakistan. The long and checkered Pakistan-U.S. relationship has its roots in the Cold War. Historically, Pakistan's relations with the United States have gone through several phases of close cooperation and estrangement. The current segment of close Pakistan-US relations began with the U-turn in Pakistan's pro-Taliban policy in the wake of the events of 9/11, leading to the full resumption of the US economic and military assistance to Pakistan and its designation as a major non-NATO ally. The strength of the relations depends upon the convergence or divergence of the two countries' national interests. During the six decades of diplomatic relations with each other, both countries are still unable to find the required trust that is needed to help improve the ties and to set on a solid footing. In Pakistan-US relations, there have been periods of warm sunshine punctuated by long shadows of mutual distrust and suspicion. It has not stood the test of time, as it was asymmetrical, incongruent, transient, and lacked depth. It was asymmetrical because the flow of assistance, in most cases, was one-sided. It was incongruent because Pakistan sought military hardware to ward off a threat from India, while the USA was looking for allies against the Soviet Union. It was transient as it was based on the changing strategic environment. It lacked depth because the relationship remained mainly between the governments and the military of the two countries, while, on the contrary, popular sentiments in Pakistan were against the perceived unjust policies of the United States in the Middle East.[31]

3.1.1: From Inception in1947 till 1959:

At the very inception of Pakistan in 1947, the foreign policy formulators, because of their liberal mindset and capitalist orientation, opted to join the Western camp. The regional politics of that time and the struggle with problems involving the national economy, national security, and Soviet influence on Afghanistan and Iran, compelled Pakistan's first Prime Minister to cement a pro-Western and pro-US policy. In 1949, the Soviet Union invited Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan to visit Moscow, and at the same time, there came an invitation from the US as well. The foreign policymakers at that time responded to the US call, and the Prime Minister went to discuss issues of a bilateral nature. It was Pakistan's geo-strategic significance that attracted American policymakers' attention to Pakistan during the Cold War; they recognized that the country could play an important role in the containment of communism. [32]The real reason why the US was chosen over Soviet Union became apparent in a background paper written by the Study Group of Pakistan Institute of International Affairs in 1956: "There are important divergences of outlook between Pakistan, with its Islamic background, and the Soviet Union with its background of Marxism which is atheistic … Pakistan had noticed the subservience which was forced upon the allies of the Soviet Union … Furthermore, there was the question whether Russia could supply the aid, both material and technical, which Pakistan so urgently needed."[33] Another significant reason for the delayed military and defence support from the Soviet Union was that it was decided to join the camp of the West to get security. During the mid-50s, there began a campaign from Pakistan to ask for aid

[31] Lt.Gen. (retd) Kamal Matinuddin, "Situation in Afghanistan and Pak-US Relations" http://ipripak.org/papers/Pakusstrategic.shtml

[32] Murad Ali, US aid to Pakistan and democracy", *Policy Perspectives* , 6 , No 2, (July - December 2009), http://www.ips.org.pk/security-and-foreign-policy/1238-murad-ali.html

[33] Cited in Ardeshir Cowasjee, "A recap of Soviet-Pakistan relations", Dawn, 13th March, 2011, http://dawn.com/2011/03/13/a-recap-of-soviet-pakistan-relations/

from the US and support in enhancing its security vis-à-vis India. In 1954, amid concerns about Soviet expansion, the US and Pakistan signed two US-sponsored regional defense pacts — the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) and the Central Treaty Organization (CTO). As a result, Islamabad received nearly $2 billion in US assistance from 1953 to 1961, including $508 million in military aid.[34] After the death of its founder, Quaid-e-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah, in 1948, and the assassination of Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan in 1951, the country saw seven prime ministers in the brief span of 10 years. With the stated objectives of bringing stability and ridding the country of corrupt and inefficient politicians, Pakistan's military leaders overthrew the civilian leadership in 1958, and then the military was to dominate the political theatre for more than a decade.[35]

3.1.2: Cold War Years: From 1960 to 1970:

At the beginning of 6os, Pakistan allowed the United States to fly its spy planes from an air base on the outskirts of Pakistan's northwestern city of Peshawar for reconnaissance of the Soviet Union. A U.S. U-2 spy plane flown from this air base was shot down by the Soviet Union over its airspace on May 1, thus deteriorating relations between Pakistan and the Soviet Union. Pakistan publicly claimed to have been deceived by the United States about the use of the base.[36] This was later denied and rejected by Pakistan about the deception that had been provided by the US government officials for keeping Pakistan in the dark. Then came the Indo-China war, also known as the Sino-India border conflict, which was started because of the disputed Himalayan border. When India granted asylum to the Dalai Lama of Tibet and India's Forward Policy of placing outposts along the border, it added fuel to the fire and triggered the violent incident of a war between the two neighbours. This war prompted U.S. President John F. Kennedy to offer India economic and military aid. Although President Kennedy had assured Pakistani President Mohammed Ayub Khan that if the United States decided to give India military aid, he would talk with Khan first. His failure to do so in November 1962 deeply offended the Pakistani leader. To reassure Pakistan, Washington reaffirms its previous assurances that it will come to Pakistan's assistance in the event of aggression from India.[37]

In 1965, Pakistan and India went for a second war over Kashmir, where the role of the US again remained controversial and supporting India and suspending Pakistan's military support, which led to a blow to Pak-US ties.[38] In 1959, both states signed an agreement of cooperation, which underscores the US to take "appropriate action, including the use of armed forces" to assist the Government of Pakistan at its request. The Agreement of Cooperation also said nothing about India and was cast in the context of the Eisenhower Doctrine, which dealt with communist threats to the Middle East. Pakistan saw the agreement as representing a high level of United States commitment; however, some United States officials encouraged an interpretation that saw more in the agreement than was there. There was considerable self-deception on both sides--Pakistan believed that it had secured an ally in its rivalry with India, and the United States focused on

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[34] "Factbox: A chronology of U.S.-Pakistani ties," http://www.reuters.com/article/2010/10/10/us-pakistan-usa-chronology-factbox-idUSTRE6991FD20101010

[35] Murad Ali, US aid to Pakistan and democracy",

[36] Ibid., See more, Kenneth T. Walsh, "Presidential Lies and Deceptions," *US News and World Report,* 6 June 2008, http://www.usnews.com/news/articles/2008/06/06/presidential-lies-and-deceptions

[37] "Factbox: A chronology of U.S.-Pakistani ties,"

[38] "United States – Pakistan Alliance," (Library of Congress Country Studies, United States of America. April 1994), http://www.country-data.com/cgi-bin/query/r-9896.html

Pakistan as an adherent to the anticommunist cause.[39] Pakistan was embittered at what they considered a friend's betrayal, and the experience taught them to avoid relying on any single source of support. For its part, the United States was disillusioned by a war in which both sides used United States-supplied equipment. The war brought other repercussions for the security relationship as well. The United States withdrew its military assistance advisory group in July 1967. In response to these events, Pakistan declined to renew the lease on the Peshawar military facility, which ended in 1969. Eventually, United States-Pakistan relations grew measurably weaker as the United States became more deeply involved in Vietnam and as its broader interest in the security of South Asia waned.[40]

After the war of 1965, Pakistan not only left the Western Pacts but also enhanced its relationships with China and Russia. It also joined the Non-Aligned movement, and as referred to by Ayub Khan, the "triangular tightrope" went to have a tricky endeavour to maintain good ties with the United States while cultivating China and the Soviet Union.[41] These alliances provided Pakistan a counterbalance to India as Pakistan needed its military buildup and urgent support in defence equipment in the aftermath of US embargos as a result of the 1965 war, which was then later covered by defence purchases from France, China, and Russia.

3.1.3: From the 70s till Soviet Invasion:

In the middle of 1971, Pakistan facilitated a secret visit by US National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger to Beijing. This visit led to a de facto US-China alignment directed against the Soviet Union. Pakistan took full credit for making this breakthrough possible. Some say that this signaled the beginning of the end of the Cold War because the communist movement was now seen as having a crack. From now on, the US made a distinction between major Communist powers that were friendly (China) and those that were antagonistic (the Soviet Union). [42]At the end of 1971, Pakistan went into another war with India over East Pakistan. It ended with the surrender of 90,000 Pakistani troops and led to the creation of Bangladesh. Both China and the United States supported Pakistan, especially given the friendship treaty that India had signed with the Soviet Union in August 1971, just before the outbreak of hostilities. U.S. again suspends military aid. Many in Pakistan began to see the United States as an unreliable ally. The Soviet Union, forced to choose sides, opted for India, and the rapprochement that had taken place between Pakistan and the Soviet Union evaporated. Pakistan stood largely alone and at the mercy of India. The 1972 bilateral Simla Agreement restored most of the status quo after the 1971 war in the relations between the two nations.[43] In 1973, Bhutto began to focus on rebuilding the tamed military because Pakistan continued to face serious security threats from India, highlighted by the Indian nuclear test in 1974, and at home, a major insurgency from 1973 to 1977 in Balochistan, which ultimately required the involvement of 80,000 army troops. New military production facilities and a navy air wing were established. Bhutto's diplomacy resulted in a partial lifting of the United States embargo on military sales to Pakistan in 1973 and a complete removal of the embargo in 1977. Pakistan's nuclear program was also established by Bhutto.[44] At the end of this decade, relations with the US were at their lowest point. The US put a very hard line on Pakistan's nuclear program and

[39] "United States – Pakistan Alliance,"
[40] Ibid,.
[41] Ibid,.
[42] Lisa Reynolds Wolfe, "Cold War Timeline: Pakistan" , May 2, 2011, http://www.coldwarstudies.com/2011/05/02/cold-war-timeline-pakistan/
[43] "United States – Pakistan Alliance,"
[44] Ibid,.

suspended all military and economic assistance in April 1979. In March 1979, after the Iranian Revolution, Pakistan withdrew from a moribund CENTO. Tensions with the United States peaked when a Pakistani mob burned the United States embassy in Islamabad in November 1979, killing two Americans and two Pakistani employees. Although China remained a good friend, political scientist Robert G. Wirsing's assessment proved accurate: "Never before had Pakistan been quite so isolated and quite so threatened at the same time."[45] The decade of the 70s ended with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

3.1.4: Pakistan as Frontline State, Afghanistan, and Cold War:

This invasion and threat of Pakistan that the Soviets could reach the region, because of the Cold War between the superpowers, Pakistan became a "frontline state" against Soviet aggression. The US offered Pakistan to begin the military and the alliance began between the two. The decade of the 80s saw a high rise in Pakistan-US relations, where General Zia became the man behind the countering Soviet policy. Even Pakistan's nuclear program was generally ignored. As a result of the invasion, Pakistan received roughly 3 million Afghan refugees who poured across the border, provided a conduit for weapons and other support, and gave a haven to the Afghan mujahedin. In the Muslim world, Pakistan has more and more assumed a principal role. As a long-term goal, Zia imagined the emergence of an Islamic government in Kabul that would provide Pakistan with geostrategic depth, facilitate access to Muslim West Asia, and forswear a revision of the Pakistan-Afghanistan boundary.[46]

3.1.5: 80s till End of Cold War:

Pakistan faced difficulties in its involvement in the Cold War proxy war. The refugee load, even if offset in part by foreign assistance, created dangerous pressures within Pakistani society. Afghan and Soviet forces carried out raids against mujahedin[47] bases inside Pakistan, and a campaign of terror bombings and sabotage in Pakistan's cities, guided by Afghan intelligence agents, caused hundreds of casualties. In 1987, some 90 percent of the 777 terrorist incidents recorded worldwide took place in Pakistan. During this period, there were periods of considerable tension between Pakistan and India. In November 1986, India launched Operation Brass Tacks[48], threateningly close to the Pakistan border. The Pakistan Army acted with threatening counter-movements, and in early 1987, there was a threat that war might break out. The India-Pakistan hotline was brought into use, and Zia skillfully seized the initiative by travelling to India to view a cricket game[49], using the opportunity to meet with Indian leaders to defuse the situation. The decade ended with the end of the Cold War with the disintegration of the Soviet Union into several new states.

3.1.6: 90s and Nuclear Weapon Tensions:

During the 90s, US involvement in domestic politics increased manifold, as analysts and observers began to term the support for the sustainable government deemed necessary to have support from Washington. At the beginning of the 90s, President George H.W. Bush suspended aid to Pakistan

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[45] "United States – Pakistan Alliance,"

[46] "United States – Pakistan Alliance,"

[47] Cecile Shea, "PAKISTAN: The Problem of Pakistan," Hoover Digest, no. 2, (2008): 1. http://www.hoover.org/publications/digest/17849379.html (accessed June 20, 2012).

[48] "Brass Tacks, ""hhtp://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/brass-tacks.htm

[49] Riaz Haq March, "India-Pakistan Cricket Diplomacy", Chowk, March 30,2011, http://www.chowk.com/Views/India-Pakistan-Cricket-Diplomacy

under the Pressler Amendment, cutting all military funds and most economic assistance. Deliveries of major military equipment are also suspended. Washington refuses to deliver 71 F-16 fighters ordered by Pakistan the previous year. 50In late 1993, the administration of President William J. Clinton, citing what it considered to be asymmetrical treatment accorded to Pakistan and India over their respective nuclear programs, proposed revising the Pressler Amendment and certain "country-specific" sections of the Foreign Assistance Act. In early 1994, the administration withdrew its proposal to revise the amendment because of strong criticism from several influential members of Congress, including Senator Pressler himself.51 During this period, the U.S. disengagement from Pakistan and Afghanistan in the 1990s caused growing resentment in Pakistan. Many people today feel the current situation is the result of the U.S. failure to remain engaged.[52] Approaching the next century, Pakistan faced another reconfiguration of the forces that determined its security environment. As Russia, China, and the United States stood back from South Asia, there were fewer constraints on India. Yet other sweeping changes were underway in the international environment. Pakistan remained engaged in its search for outside help to ensure its security.

3.1.7: New Millennium and 9/11 attacks:

At the end of the 90s and the beginning of the next century, General Musharraf was the Chief Executive of Pakistan after he had a coup against Nawaz Sharif's government. Pakistan was faced with intense diplomatic pressure and security challenges due to the military coup, economic difficulties due to the Pressler Amendment, a continuous threat of a hostile and nuclear-capable India in the east, and a destabilized Afghanistan under increasing Taliban control in the west. With the potential emergence of a second security threat from Afghanistan, Pakistan chose to build amiable relations with the Taliban as both countries sought peace.[53] However, despite its recognition of the Taliban, "Pakistan had identified the growing threat of extremism and had taken aggressive actions to curb extremism and combat terrorism."[54] The events of 9/11 and the resultant global War on Terror in 2001 changed the landscape of the region. The war was meant to defeat Al-Qaeda and the Taliban. Once again, Pakistan was considered the frontline state and a major Non-NATO Ally. The interests of both countries converge at this point. There was strong resistance at home about Pakistan joining the U.S., and Pakistan abandoned the Taliban and joined the U.S. and allies. In October 2001, US Under Secretary of State Alan Larson offered preferential treatment to some of the Pakistani export items and discussed the generous treatment of Pakistan $3 billion debt at the Paris Club.[55] The US responded by assisting Pakistan in reducing its foreign debt burden, providing economic and military assistance, eliminating sanctions related to its

[50]" Fact book : Pakistan US relations Timeline," Reuters, http://www.reuters.com/article/2010/10/10/us-pakistan-usa-chronology-factbox-idUSTRE6991FD20101010

[51] "United States – Pakistan Alliance,"

[52] "Fact book : Pakistan US relations Timeline,"

[53] Brigadier Malik Zafar Iqbal, US- Pakistan Relations: An Appraisal of the Afghanistan-Pakistan Strategy to Counter, " http://timemilitary.files.wordpress.com/2011/07/iqbal-rpt.pdf

[54], Brigadier, Rizwan Akhtar, "US Pakistan Trust Deficit and the War on Terror, Strategy Research Project" (Carlisle Barracks, PA: U.S. Army War College, March 15, 2008), 3.

[55] "TIMELINE : Chronology of Pak-US relations, "http://archives.dawn.com/archives/68745

nuclear program and military coup, and recognizing Pakistan as a major ally.[56] Taliban removal led to the rise in insurgency and movement, and shifting of the theatre to the border areas of Pakistan.

According to the US Departments of State and Defense, Pakistan has provided the United States with unprecedented levels of cooperation by allowing the US military to use bases within the country, helping to identify and detain extremists, tightening the border between Pakistan and Afghanistan, and blocking terrorist financing.[57] Not only has Pakistan lost more personnel in this conflict than any other US ally,[58] Large quantities of critical military supplies have moved through Pakistan into Afghanistan.

As with most US strategies, the AF-PAK Strategy has been iteratively developed. The strategy was first articulated by President Obama in March 2009, and then updated based upon feedback from his military leadership and subsequently redefined in a December ‟09 speech at West Point. The strategy was further expanded in the Department of State‟s „Afghanistan and Pakistan Regional Stabilization Strategy‟ subsequently published in January 2010 and summarized in the recently issued „Quadrennial Defense Review‟ (QDR).[59] The strategy succinctly outlines the overall goal: "to disrupt, dismantle, and defeat Al Qaeda in Pakistan and Afghanistan, and to prevent their return to either country in the future…"[60] In October 2009, the US Congress approved $7.5 billion of non-military aid to Pakistan over the next five years through the famous Kerry-Lugar Bill. In early 2010, US President Barack Obama sought to increase funds to Pakistan to "promote economic and political stability in strategically important regions where the United States has special security interests"[61] Recent incidents of the killing of Osama Bin Laden in the Abbottabad Compound[62] and killings by, and then the dramatic release of a US security contractor, Raymond Davis[63], made Pakistan in the limelight again.

The United States and Pakistan have faced huge challenges in the fight against terrorism, and no country has suffered more from terrorist attacks than the Pakistani people, 35,000 to 40,000 as per a reliable estimate. Defence strategists in South Asia believe that without Pakistan US cannot win this war on extremism and threats to its security and sovereignty. Even after the lessening of NATO's presence in Afghanistan, the United States will still need the government of Pakistan's cooperation on certain issues, particularly ensuring continuous supply to the special operations/intelligence personnel outstanding in Afghanistan after the bulk of the forces withdraw in 2014. As Pakistan's domestic problems are due to the war in Afghanistan and its participation

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[56] Alan Kronstadt. "Pakistan US Relations," 49. The US "designated Pakistan as a major non-NATO ally of the United States under Section 517 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961."

[57] Shah Saeed, "Despite US pressure, Pakistan continues to follow its own road," http://www.miamiherald.com/news/world/AP/story/1346431.html

[58] Ibid,.

[59] Quadrennial Defense Review Report, February 2010, 60. http://www.defense.gov/qdr/images/QDR_as_of_12Feb10_1000.pdf

[60] Barrack Obama, "Remarks by the President on a New Strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan," The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, 27 Mar 2009, http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Remarks-by-the-President-on-a-New-Strategy-for-Afghanistan-and-Pakistan

[61] "Obama seeks boost in Pakistan aid, " *Reuters,* February 1, 2010.http://www.reuters.com/article/2010/02/01/us-pakistan-usa-budget-idUSTRE6103AW20100201

[62] Helene Cooper, "Obama Announces Killing of Osama bin Laden," *The New York Times,* May 1, 2011, http://thelede.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/05/01/bin-laden-dead-u-s-official-says/

[63] "Raymond Davis Pakistan Shooting Charges Spark Conspiracy Theories," *Huffingtonpost*, 24 February, 2011, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/02/24/raymond-davis-murder-char_n_827658.html

in it, therefore, Pakistan's sliding economy cannot do without American largesse. [64]Currently, the issue of seeking an apology, reimbursement of the Coalition Support Fund, drone attacks, and reopening of NATO supply routes to Afghanistan could have been resolved amicably if America had considered Pakistan's sensitivities and vulnerabilities of regional compulsions. Pakistan cannot believe that it is a 'routine activity' when the Americans have taken several unilateral and hostile actions against their fellow compatriots. Therefore, failing to recognise the requirements of the Pakistani people, the continuation of the policy of unilateralism may have little success. The continuation of this stalemate for an extended period will hurt not only Pakistan but also have a long-term impact on the Pak-US relationships. In case efforts are not put in place to take advantage of the commonalities of policies between the two partners, the Americans will soon realize the damage they have done to this strategically important region.[65]

3.2: Pakistan-Russia Relations[66]:

Pakistan and Russia have witnessed various ups and downs in their diplomatic and political relations since the emergence of Pakistan. If we can say that these relations are as old as the presence of the British Empire in the subcontinent, then we are being historic and are viewing the terms through the lens of the old Great Game. The relations are old but have witnessed various bumps on the way, but still both countries were now able to manage and develop their congenial relations after the tumultuous events of 9/11. In the current geopolitical and strategic scenario of the region, Pakistan is revamping its partnership and relationship with countries like Russia. The unreliable friendship of the US has always left Pakistan at the receiving end, leaving aside being taken as a partner. Russia and Pakistan need to develop deep-rooted and long-lasting political, strategic, and economic relations based on sound and greater appeal for intellectual collaboration, to lift "the mist of mutual incomprehension left behind by the Cold War".[67]

Six decades of Pakistan and Russia relations have observed various bumps and bruises, but still, both countries, out of odds, managed to develop a congeniality of relations after the dawn of the 21st century and the tumultuous events of 9/11. In the contemporary multipolar international political system, where several world orders are contending with each other, Pakistan needs to revamp and reach out to improve and enhance cooperation with friendly countries like Russia. Nevertheless, Pakistan's presence and active alliance with the Western world order, relations with the Soviet Union, and later the Russian Federation remained lukewarm. After over these years, both states have realized that the prism of distrust through which view of each other was murky, and must be removed. Pakistan and Russia need to forward their steps by taking a small leap in the direction to cover the journey of a thousand miles. Russia and Pakistan extended hand of cooperation in the fields of education, energy, trade, counter-terrorism, and counter-narcotics. Both countries have a mutual understanding and shared objective of peace and harmony in the region, with development. Throughout relations, both states exchanged visits at the highest level. It is the need of the time that Pakistan must make an earnest and eager effort to improve relations with Russia. [68]

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[64] Khalid Khokhar, "Commonalities in US-Pakistan relations," *The News*, July 02, 2012, http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-6-117939-Commonalities-in-US-Pakistan-relations

[65] Ibid,.

[66] Published and widely read article by the writer on the subject Farhat Asif Noor "New Spring in Pakistan-Russia Relations", *Hillal*, (March, 2012).

[67] Ibid.,

[68] Ibid,.

3.2.1:Initial Phase: 1947 to 1960:

At the very inception of Pakistan, managers and executors of the foreign policy were liberal-driven and had a Western tilt that resulted in the diversion of us toward the West and the US. This Western ideological orientation was one of a few reasons for tilting towards the West. If we look at the history of relations established diplomatically in 1948, Pakistan didn't even have an Ambassador to Moscow till 1949. Soon after, the invitation from Russia was ignored as a result of this western-minded elite, and the then Prime Minister moved to Washington for his first official visit. A few years later, the much-expected visit to the Soviet Union was announced in 1949 that Liaqat Ali Khan would visit in May 1950. It was delayed to an extent that a lot of water of mistrust had flowed under. This set the relations on a progress in a very cold environment till the time the USSR disintegrated and the Russian Federation emerged. Over the decades, the relations between the two countries lacked depth and dimension, even having the strong possibilities of cooperation and collaboration. During the decade of Soviet invasion, the relations went to their lowest ebb and were at their worst stage ever in the history of the connection. The U2 incident further aggravated the relations. It was mainly because of Soviet involvement in internal matters of Afghanistan and the Indo-Soviet alliance, which Pakistan looked at with suspicion.[69]

Exchange of high-level visit began as far as in 1956 when First Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Anastas I. Mikoyan paid an official visit to Pakistan. The decade of 50s was marked by several agreements that were signed by both states approving cooperation in the economic field. In 60s, President Ayoub visited Russia and met with the then Soviet Prime Minister of Russia, Alexei Kosygin. Both exchanged and extended hands of cooperation in the economic and defence fields. These visits were made to bring the two states together and closer for more cooperation. During the decade of 60s Pakistan and Russia, foes of the Cold War, enhanced their cooperation, and as Pakistan was looking for more options in the international system for support in defence and strategic cooperation and Russia was a better option. The highlight of the decade was the Indo-Pak war in 65, where Russia provided its good offices to end the hostility between the two. The Tashkent Declaration can be called a major landmark in the relations. Many analysts, like a well-known American Scholar Hafeez Malik, termed the decade of 60s as when both countries enjoyed "emergence of realistic relationship".

3.2.2:Decades of 70s, the Afghan Invasion, and the end of the Cold War:

The tumultuous decade of 70s began with an official visit of the then Prime Minister of Pakistan, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, in 1972 and later in 1974. While later, the formation of Bangladesh in 1971, Pakistan faced a setback, but during that time, Russia and Pakistan cooperated in various projects of mutual interest and cooperation. For instance, Russia's extended cooperation in building a steel manufacturing unit near Karachi was of great help from Russia. Another milestone in the successful bilateral relations was the successful establishment of Pakistan Steel Mills. The decade ended with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, which resulted in a blow to the Russo-Pak relations till the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the transformation of it to the Russian Federation. The

[69] Ibid,.

afghan problem marred the relations, but both states began working on the peaceful resolution of the Afghan problem till the 1988 Geneva Accords. After the end of the Cold War and Soviet disintegration, Pakistan recognized the new Russian Federation on 20th December 1991 and later established diplomatic relations with all the new emerging states of Central Asia. [70]

For Pakistan, relations with Central Asian republics were and still are equally important because of the various cultural, political, religious, historical, and economic reasons. For these states, the soft belly of the Soviet Union and the Strategic backyard of Russia pose a significant foreign policy opportunity for Pakistan. Even though the Soviet Union ceased to exist, the Russian Federation which stretches from the Pacific to the Baltic Sea, still has a large significance in the International political system. With recent years of strategic dialogue and extended cooperation of the U.S towards India, it is in the interest of Pakistan to discover, expand, and explore new markets and new partners in the International system for its indigenous development. President Asif Ali Zardari paid an official visit to Russia last May after almost three and a half decades since the last visit of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto to Russia. The visit was significant in the emerging geopolitical milieu as it was aimed at extending the hands of cooperation to Russia and finding a permanent space in the emerging strategic and economic grouping, Shengai Cooperation Organisation (SCO). If this dream of Pakistan becomes a reality, then in thecoming few years, Pakistan would become a hub of energy and transit trade in the region. In this multipolar world order, Russia stands out supreme in our foreign policy endeavors if we really want to have heavyweight status in the region.

3.2.3:Recent Developments:

It was freezing temperatures in Dushanbe in November 2010, when some warm feelings were conveyed through words by the then Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin to his counterpart, former Prime Minister Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani, during a meeting on the sidelines of the SCO summit. This warmth is building up and has continued till now as newly elected President Vladimir Putin has agreed in March to visit Pakistan in September 2012. The high level visits of such kinds have always been an edge in the relationships amongst the countries, reflecting the highest priority one country gives to another. The recent visit of President Asif Ali Zardari was done in the back drop where we are having trouble in relations with the United States. We have also observed that the relations are at the very lowest ebb in the whole history of relations. He was right in referring to our inclination towards an unreliable ally, which has always posed and given us a ditch. Pakistan and Russia vowed to join hands to fight terrorism, drug trafficking and enhance cooperation in various fields, including energy and trade. With its vast technological and economic base, Russia needs far more attention from Pakistan, and rightly so as the President's visit to the country is another step in that direction. Russia, as a distant neighbor, is also revamping and reviewing its policy towards Pakistan. Although various MoUs have been signed, but need of the time is to materialize rather than leaving them only on paper.

Understanding of changing parameters of the international, regional political, and security environment, Pakistan must continue to have a thrust towards developing close relations with Russia, and it must also work on raising it to a much higher level. The new phase has already been marked to begin. Our interest lies in having a pragmatic and diversified foreign policy with close and cordial relations with all the major powers. Like Paul Kennedy has said, "there is no expert on Russia, but varying degrees of ignorance"; however, for Pakistan, it is necessary in contemporary world politics not to remain ignorant, especially in its relations with Russia.

[70] Ibd,.

Assessment Questions:

- What is the role of superpowers in the formation of the foreign policy of Pakistan?
- How did Pakistan and the United States join hands against the Soviet Union to fight in Afghanistan?
- What is the role of Pakistan in the War against Terror?
- What is the War against Terror? When did it start?
- Write a note on the Cold War.
- Explain the history of relations between Pakistan and Russia.
- Why Prime Minister of Pakistan, Liaqat Ali Khan, opt to visit towards United States instead of the former Soviet Union?

Suggested Readings:

- Henery Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1964)
- Wohlstetter Roberta, *Pearl Harbor: Warning and Decision* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962).
- Strode Talbot, *US Diplomacy in South Asia-A Progress Report*(New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1995).
- Thomas Perish, *The Cold War Encyclopedia* (Ist Ed. New York: H. HOH, 1996)
- Wallace Crawford Timothy 'Playing the Pivot in South Asia: Kennedy's Attempt to Broker Peace in Kashmir, 1962-1963', Brookings Working Paper, 10 July 2001, The Brookings Institution.
- Staneley Wolpert, *Roots of Confrontation in South Asia: Afghanistan, Pakistan, India and Super powers* (Oxford University Press, New York & Oxford, 1991).
- Paul Kennedy, The Rise and Fall of The Great Powers, Economic Change and Military Conflict From 1500 to 2000(Vintage Books,1989)
- Douglas H Paal, "The United States in Asia in 1999: Ending the 20th Century*" Asian Survey* 40(1), 2000.
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Unit 4

Pakistan and other Major Powers

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4. Introduction

Similar to great powers, major powers also play a significant role in influencing the events of international politics. Although less powerful than the great powers, these major powers even influence the role of the great powers in the international system. In this unit, we are discussing Pakistan's relations with these major powers, and these are China, France, Great Britain, and Germany. It is also important to note here that these major powers are permanent members of the Security Council of the United Nations. They have the power of Veto to support or reject any resolution on issues of their interest.

Objectives:

After reading this Unit, you will be able to;

- Know about the concept of major powers.
- Know about Pakistan's relations with Major Powers.

4.1: Pakistan-China Relations:

Pakistan-China relations began in 1950 when Pakistan became the first country to recognize the People's Republic of China. Pakistan was the first Muslim country and the third non-communist state to accord recognition to the People's Republic of China. The friendship and congeniality of relations continued to grow since that time, often referred to as "higher than the Himalayas". These relationships have stood the test of time, and changes of respective governments and world politics have not affected them. The Pakistan-China friendship is unique in many ways in the recent history of state-to-state relations. The friendly relationship has been described over the years by the leaderships of the two countries as all-weather, time-tested, deep-rooted, trusted; deeper than the oceans and higher than the Himalayas, sweeter than honey; and lately, as comprehensive; strategic and stronger than steel. These expressions are not simple clichés but truly reflect the strength, depth, and maturity of the relationship constructed over the last 60 years.[71] The relationship between Pakistan and China has endured on a solid footing with uninterrupted and "all-weather friendship." The relationship has faced several tests of time and numerous geo-strategic changes in the region, including the improvement of Indo-China relations since 1989, the collapse of the Soviet Union, the post 9/11 world where Pakistan became the front line state in the war against terror, and recent Indo-US strategic partnership and convergence of interest, and recent divergences in US-Pak relations. China has been a great support for Pakistan in its foreign relations and the year 2011 has been celebrated in both countries as the Pak-China Friendship Year after the passing of 60 years of diplomatic relations.

The two countries have enjoyed positive strategic relations. China supported Pakistan in both the 1965 and 1971 wars with India. During the decade of the 60s, Pakistan also supported China's seat in the UN. During the Sino-India war in 1962, the United States rushed and support India, thus posing a threat to Pakistan's security interests. This led to the withdrawal of Pakistan from the defence pacts of SEATO and CENTO. At this point, a convergence in security interests emerged between Pakistan and China. The two countries amicably negotiated and signed a border demarcation agreement in March 1963, thus removing the only contentious issue between the two states. [72]In the following years, Pakistan continued to help China end the isolation imposed by both superpowers by signing an air-transport agreement and trade agreement and facilitating China's contact with some countries, especially in the Islamic world. During this time, China has also provided Pakistan with important support in the areas of missiles and nuclear technology, and support in defence capabilities.

At the beginning of the 70s, Pakistan played an important role in developing and enhancing the relationship between the US and China. The American diplomats used Pakistani airports and planes to reach China and were accompanied by Pakistani diplomats. [73]Pakistan-China relations and US-China détente prompted India to sign the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation with the Soviet Union, which altered the regional strategic dynamics and further consolidated Pakistan-China relations. After the Indo-Pakistan war of 1971, China provided military and

[71]Fazul Rehman, "Pakistan-China relations at 60," *China.org.cn,* May 20, 2011 http://www.china.org.cn/opinion/2011-05/20/content_22601724.htm (accessed 15 June 2012)

[72] "Pakistan-China Relations In Changing Regional and Global Scenario" Seminar Proceedings, September 2005, http://www.fesea.org/publications/proceedings/Proceedings2.pdf

[73] Blog Post, http://wakeupfromyourslumber.com/node/8726(accessed 15 June 2012)

economic assistance to Pakistan. When Bangladesh applied for membership in the UN, China, on Pakistan's request, exercised its first-ever veto at the UN Security Council to stall the move, enabling Pakistan to secure the release of its POWs and the return of troops to pre-war positions. While China has helped Pakistan at every hour of need, Pakistan, too, has always remained steadfast in its support to China on all issues important to China's national interests. The people of the two countries will always remember the help extended to each other in difficult times.[74]

Although Pakistan and China have an all-encompassing strategic relationship, until the late 1990s, bilateral cooperation remained focused on political and defence issues. Economic relations ranked relatively low, despite the enormous potential for growth in this sphere. [75]In the 90s, Pakistan and China began cooperating in defence fields, including collaboration in the development of JF-17 Thunder. Pakistan was one of the few countries that had access to the latest American technology, from the F-86 Sabers to the F-104s to the F-16s. Pakistan provided the technical knowledge, information, and requirements to build a new plane. Reverse Engineering was used to build a new aircraft at record speed. The JF-17 Thunder was born. During this time, the need was felt to enhance cooperation in the fields other than defence as well to provide sustenance to the long-lasting strategic partnership in a changing global and regional environment. During this decade much resolve and regular exchange of high-level visits reflect the desire on both sides for cooperation. At the beginning of the millennium, our trade increased from US$1 billion in 2001 to US$8 billion in 2010. The two sides have undertaken several mega infrastructural projects in Pakistan, such as the Gwadar Deep Sea Port, the Coastal Highway linking Karachi with Gwadar, the upgrading of the Karakoram Highway, the Chashma nuclear power plants, and some hydro-power projects.[76]

Over the last decade, Pakistan's strategic partnership with China has become increasingly important to its future security, stability, and prosperity. 'The Pakistan-China relationship is much more than a strategic confluence of interests between two countries,' affirmed Pakistani President Asif Ali Zardari in early 2009. Similarly, in February 2010, Pakistan's Foreign Minister, Makhdoom Shah Mahmood Qureshi, told an audience at the Shanghai Institute of International Studies: 'Pakistan-China relationship has three constituents: strategic partnership; economic cooperation, and people-to-people contacts. In this calculus, the security dimension has been the strongest; but now the two sides are making conscious efforts to underpin this relationship with strengthened economic cooperation, and deepened cultural interaction at the level of the people.' Spanning the period from 1999 to 2009, there have been some key examples of Chinese investment and support such as assistance with the construction of a 300-MW nuclear power plant in Punjab Province; a joint-venture partnership in developing and producing the Al-Khalid-2000 Main Battle Tank and the JF-17 Thunder multi-role fighter aircraft; provision of $198 million out of $248 million to build Gwadar port; signing of a bilateral free trade agreement; co-operation in civil-nuclear technology as demonstrated by the Khusab Nuclear Programme; acquisition of modern Chinese-built F-22P frigates; initiatives to build a fibre-optic line, an oil and gas pipeline, and a

[74] Fazul Rehman, "Pakistan-China relations at 60," *China.org.cn,* May 20, 2011, http://www.china.org.cn/opinion/2011-05/20/content_22601724.htm (accessed 15 June 2012)
[75] Ibid.,
[76] Ibid.,

rail track connecting Gwadar to China; and the provision of an EXIM Bank loan of US$105 million for Pakistan Railways to purchase 75 Chinese-made locomotives.[77]

By 2010, bilateral trade had increased to US$7 billion, up from US$2 billion in 2002, and both countries have since announced plans to increase this further to US$15 billion by late 2011. Since 2010, over sixty Chinese companies have been operating in Pakistan on 122 projects, involving some 11,000 Chinese businessmen, engineers, technicians, and workers. In the same year, China offered to invest US$10 billion in Pakistan for two hydro-power projects to generate 7,000 and 12,000 MW. Similarly, in December 2010, China again signed 22 new agreements with Pakistan as part of its agenda to further expand trade and cooperation. They covered agriculture and livestock, banking and finance, civil aviation, culture, diplomacy, electronics, energy, mining, politics, and space technology.[78]

In the last few years, the two governments have also convened some high-level conferences/forums, inaugurated by their respective leadership in Pakistan and China, to promote economic cooperation, thereby exhibiting interest, resolve, and patronage to the private sector business community of the two countries. Prime Minister, Syed Yousuf Raza Gilani created a joint 'Pakistan-China Holding Company,' aimed at facilitating financing for Chinese companies intending to invest in Pakistan. Pakistan and China have now created a clear and shared vision of the direction of their economic relations. Clarity in the direction has been achieved due to the frequent exchange of ideas at the high-level consultations between the leadership of the two countries.[79] We have a two-way trade which in 2010 was worth $8.7 billion, an increase of 27.7 percent over 2009. The aim is to increase bilateral trade to $15 billion – but no target date for this ambitious goal has been defined.[80]

There was a broad agreement to intensify cooperation in infrastructure development, energy, and agriculture on a priority basis. Leaders of the two countries rightly referred to the China-Pakistan Friendship Year, pointing out that it should not be just an occasion to celebrate the 60 years of friendship between the two. Rather, it should serve as an inspiration for advancing practical cooperation and making strategic partnerships "more extensive and productive". In light of the gravity of the situation, our leadership must live up to the message from the Chinese to get out of the present mess.[81]

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[77] Sergei DeSilva-Ranasinghe, "Pakistan's Strategic and Foreign Policy Objectives", 5 May, 2011,

htttp://www.futuredirections.org.au/publications/indian-ocean/16-pakistans-strategic-and-foreign-policy-objectives.html (accessed 15 June 2012)

[78] Ibid.,

[79] Dr. Noor Ahmed Memon, Pakistan Textile Journal (Karachi), September 2009, http://www.ptj.com.pk/Web-2009/09-09/September-2009/Lead-Art-Dr.Noor.pdf (accessed June 10,2012).

[80] Editorial, *News International (Rawalpindi),* May 20, 2011, http://www.thenews.com.pk/TodaysPrintDetail.aspx?ID=48066&Cat=8&dt=5/20/2011(accessed June 14,2012)

[81] Editorial, *Dawn (Islamabad),* May 22, 2011, http://nation.com.pk/pakistan-news-newspaper-daily-englishonline/

Opinions/Editorials/22-May-2011/Chinas-firm-assurance (accessed June 14,2012)

4.2: Pakistan-Britain Relations:

The region, which is now called Pakistan and India, was under British rule till the time of independence. The British Empire came to this region during the 19th Century and left to divide the region divided into two parts. Pakistan, soon after independence, developed diplomatic links with Britain. Pakistan has joined the Commonwealth of Nations and became a Dominion with the Commonwealth of Nations. According to the dictionary Dominion is "a self-governing nation of the Commonwealth of Nations other than the United Kingdom that acknowledges the British monarch as the chief of state." India acquired a responsible government in 1909, though the first Parliament did not meet until 1919. [82]India and Pakistan separated as independent dominions in 1947. India became a republic in 1950, and Pakistan adopted a republican form of government in 1956. [83] The UK and Pakistan enjoy uniquely rich people-to-people links. The relationship between the UK and Pakistan is cordial and congenial, and these relations are warmer because of the presence of some 1 million Pakistani-origin British Citizen Relations between the UK and the people of Pakistan are warm and close, made even more so by the substantial number of Pakistani origin British citizens who live in the UK. Due to post-independence migration from Pakistan to the United Kingdom, especially during the 1950s and 1960s, between 750,000 and 1 million British people are of Pakistani descent to. According to the 2001 census, only 143,000 lived in the capital, London. Pakistan and the UK are uniquely connected in this regard. After the US, the UK has become home to one of the largest Pakistani expatriate communities living outside their home country. The contribution made by the British Pakistani community to the UK and to enhance the relationship between the UK and Pakistan. Immigration from what is now Pakistan to the United Kingdom began long before the Partition of India in 1947. Muslim immigrants from Kashmir and Sindh arrived in the British Isles as early as the mid-seventeenth century, typically as lashkars and sailors in British port cities. [84]An example of such a person is Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan. Jinnah came to the UK in 1892 and started an apprenticeship at Graham's Shipping and Trading Company. After completing his apprenticeship, Jinnah joined Lincoln's Inn, where he trained as a barrister. At 19, Jinnah became the youngest person from the Indian subcontinent to be called to the bar in Britain. [85]

Now trade between Pakistan and the UK is £1.9 billion worth that flows between the countries each year, and it is continuously rising. The United Kingdom has also become the second-largest investor in Pakistan. There are also growing cultural exchanges between various museums and academia with each other. The work being undertaken on shared national security challenges, including counter-terrorism through the Joint Working Group, which met in October 2011, and

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[82] " British Dominion", http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British_Dominions#cite_ref-34 (accessed June 14,2012)

[83] Ibid.,

[84] " First Asians in Britain", *Fathom,* http://www.fathom.com/course/21701766/index.html

[85] D. N. Panigrahi, *India's Partition: The Story Of Imperialism In Retreat*, (Routledge, 2004), 16. For more detailed study see Pnina Werbner 'Pakistani Migration and Diaspora, Religious Politics in a Global Age' in Melvin Ember, Carol R. Ember, & Ian
Skoggard (eds), Encyclopedia of Diasporas: Immigrant and Refugee Cultures Around the World, (2004) (New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers,
https://sites.google.com/site/pwerbner/PakistaniDiasporaEncyclopedia.PDF?attredirects=0 (accessed June 15,2012),

the National Security Discussions, which brings together civilian and military experts to address the common challenges both countries face. The UK stands alongside Pakistan as a partner against the menace of militancy, terrorism, and extremism, and acknowledges the huge sacrifices ordinary people in Pakistan are making.[86]

Several high-level visits have taken place between the countries during the decades of relations, which reflect the high priorities that both states put on each other. The UK, being one of the leading EU members, has a great role to play and, as a partner and strategic ally, has put great emphasis in its relationship with Pakistan in cooperating with the countries in areas of global and regional peace and stability, people-to-people links, trade, investment, education, culture, and parliaments. In terms of development assistance, the Department for International Development (DFID) has done a significant amount of work in Pakistan to transform education, support economic stability, and build peace, stability, and democracy in the country. [87] The aid to Pakistan continues, and as described in various sectors ranging from humanitarian assistance to changing lives and transforming the governance in the country. Increased aid from the UK has now been linked to the progress and performance of the government in taking steps to build a more dynamic economy. [88] The UK has committed £665 million to fight poverty in Pakistan from 2009-2013; over this period, Pakistan will become one of the UK's largest aid recipients. This includes a £250m education programme, support for better economic management and governance; £50m to support stabilization and reconstruction in the conflict-affected areas bordering Afghanistan; and £182m on health.[89] The UK, as one of the leading members of the European Union (EU), has also become one of the greatest advocates for Pakistan's market access to the EU. This can help to increase Pakistan's exports and could be worth up to €1billion per year.[90]

4.3: Pak-France Relations:

When Pakistan became independent in 1947, France had no special interests in a region which had been largely excluded from its colonial empire with one except five French settlements located on Indian Territory. Yet a call for an early establishment of diplomatic relations was made and justified by the fact that Pakistan was, in demographic terms, the most important Muslim state in the world, and it wished to play a significant role in the United Nations and vis-à-vis the Arab League and other Muslim states. Diplomatic relations were officially established in November 1947. It was only in February 1965 that a French Prime Minister, Georges Pompidou, visited Pakistan during a trip to the subcontinent (the first visit to France by a Pakistani leader was Iskander Mirza as President in October 1957). [91]

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[86] Foreign Commonwealth Office "Britain and Pakistan: an unbreakable partnership," February, 2012, http://www.fco.gov.uk/en/news/latest-news/?view=PressS&id=732577882 (accessed June 15,2012),

[87] " DFID Pakistan Overview, "http://www.dfid.gov.uk/pakistan?tab=2

[88] Ibid.,

[89] Ibid,.

[90]"Britain's relationship with Pakistan is here to stay", Foreign Secretary William Hague gave a speech about UK-Pakistan relations at the 60th Anniversary of the Pakistan Society,27 September 2011, http://www.fco.gov.uk/en/news/latest-news/?id=662299882&view=Speech

[91] Dr. Gilles Boquérat, Pakistan-France Relations: The Bilateral Dimensions-France-Pakistan Relations Through the Quai' D orsy Archives in " Pakistan and France : Global Security Perspectives and Worldlviews," Seminar Report, (Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad, 2007),

Both countries were on the same side of the geo-strategic divide during the Cold War, which at least allowed for more interaction through participation in SEATO meetings. During the Fifties, bilateral relations were cordial, but it was lacking in commonalities, and there were some irritants as explained hereafter. It was admitted that the chaotic political situation prevailing in France at the end of the Fourth Republic certainly did not reflect positively on its image abroad. It so happened that in both countries, it was during the same year, 1958, that a general took charge of the affairs of the state with the declared intention of reforming the parliamentary system. The fifth republic, with its semi-presidential system was introduced on 5 October 1958 only three weeks before Ayub Khan staged his coup against Iskander Mirza.[92]

France is also one of Pakistan's major economic partners in Europe, an active member of the Paris Club, and has also been a member of the Pakistan Development Forum, which was formally the Aid-to-Pakistan Consortium, since 1961. Over the years, Pakistan-France relations have grown in the political, military, economic, cultural, and other diverse areas. France has therefore been forthcoming and positive towards economic and trade opportunities and in enhancing bilateral cooperation. Over the years Pakistan-France trade has steadily increased, more steeply in recent years, with a balance in Pakistan's favor. The trade crossed the $ 1 billion mark in 2005. Institutional linkages with key partners have been established, such as the setting up of Comité Pakistan in the French Business Confederation; collaboration with the French Investment Agency UBI France; Affiliation with the French Association of Agriculture Technologies; MOU with the Paris Chamber of Commerce and Industry; MOU with the French Ready to Wear Garments Association, and arrangement with the French Textile Union.[93]

If we look at Pakistan's relations with France, then we need to evaluate the French policy and contribution to the EU policy towards Pakistan. For that matter, we also need to look at the role of France in various economic institutions, like that of the Paris Club and its strategic role in NATO and ISAF-led forces in Afghanistan. France has always attached a significant development approach towards Pakistan and considered it an important factor in global politics. If we try to analyse the relations between both states, then most of the relationship has been economic and defence-related. Pakistan has remained one of the leading buyers of defence equipment from France. On the development assistance side, France has been dormant as a development partner since 1996. It may be recalled that as a matter of policy, France stopped providing direct financial aid to some states, including Pakistan, in 1997. However, money in the pipeline was not frozen. The ongoing projects include Chashma Hydropower EM-II, involving 24.87 million Euros, and a Sewerage Treatment Plant allocated under the 1996 protocol for refurbishing and installation of a sewerage treatment plant of CDA. During the Donors' Conference, the French government pledged 81 million Euros for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of earthquake areas. In addition, the French government also provided a grant of $30 million for emergency relief assistance for the earthquake-hit areas. The total contribution made to date amounts to $124 million. To streamline development assistance, the French Development Agency (AFD) is setting out long-term priorities in consultation with the relevant authorities.

Another significant feature of bilateral cooperation has been in the field of education. It demonstrates France's long-term interest in Pakistan. Presently, 150 students are pursuing Master's

[92] Ibid.,

[93] Ms Fouzia Nasreen, " Pakistan-France Relations: The Bilateral Dimensions France and Europe As Europe as Seen by Pakistan" in " Pakistan and France : Global Security Perspectives and Worldlviews," Seminar Report, (Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad, 2007).

and PhD programmes in France. In addition, in collaboration with the French educational institutions, the Higher Education Commission is setting up the University of Engineering, Science and Technology of Pakistan in Karachi under the aegis of Troyes University and many other universities, as well as French enterprises. The UESTP project is at an advanced stage of implementation. This will be a long-lasting French contribution to the human resource development of Pakistan.[94] During the decade of the 60's, France became one of the important partners with Pakistan's Air Force and Navy. It was the time that Pakistan was expanding its defence capability, keeping its focus on building alliances and cooperation in the defence field. Pakistan is also a significant buyer of French products, including defence hardware, civil aircraft, telecom equipment, and power generation machinery, which is acquired by the public sector.

There was, of course, the occasional complaint on the Pakistani side that French armament was too costly, and on the French side that there was tough and sometimes unfair competition coming from Britain, which did not want to lose a traditional client, and from the USA since the military alliance meant a good bargain for Pakistan. Still, orders remained significant and even raised the fear that part of it was re-exported to Arab countries. The French decision not to impose an arms embargo (contrary to the USA and the UK) following the India-Pakistan war of September 1965 was valued. [95]In 1967, during the state visit of Ayub Khan to France, he already had the opportunity to meet de Gaulle twice on private visits, in September 1962 and November 1966., Pakistan bought its Mirage fighters, a fleet greatly expanded during the decades of the 70s, and further increased in the 90s. A contract was signed between France and Pakistan in 1996 regarding the reconditioning of the aircraft.

In November 2005, an inventory listed 185 operational Mirages in the Pakistani Air Force: a figure second behind the 225 Chinese F-7, but far ahead of the 32 American F16.3 Pakistan has bought as well, in the past, Alouette and Puma helicopters. The Navy also has an established connection with France, the best known recent deal being the three Agosta 90-B submarines contract signed in 1994 with a clause of technology transfer (the third submarine was launched in April 2006). This long defence relationship has developed a spirit of trust and reciprocated knowledge, as many Pakistani officers have been trained in France. The durability of the relationship was confirmed when Paris did not revise the running contracts after Pakistan conducted nuclear tests in May 1998.[96] Relating a conversation with Bhutto in January 1971, the French Ambassador to Pakistan quoted the then-chairman of the Pakistan People's Party as saying that his country cannot get too close to the USSR, China, or the USA. Also, close relations, by feelings and by necessity, would have to be pursued with France and possibly Germany. [97]

The bilateral relations had not always been so encouraging. Pakistan, being the leader of the Muslim world, has always been in support of the issues of Muslim states. In Palestine or any other conflict, Pakistan has always taken a stand for them. In reciprocity, the Muslim world has always supported Pakistan on the Kashmir issue. During the decades of the 50s, the Algerian issue was in the limelight, as Pakistan was taking a tougher stand on the Algerian issue, notably at the UN. relations between Pakistan and France were soured during that time. France has always been

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[94] Ibid,.

[95] Dr. Gilles Boquérat, "Pakistan-France Relations: The Bilateral Dimensions-France-Pakistan Relations Through the Quaid Orsay Archives", in " Pakistan and France : Global Security Perspectives and Worldlviews," Seminar Report, (Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad, 2007),

[96]Jean-Luc Racine, "France and Pakistan: The State of Their Bilateral Relationship" in "Pakistan and France : Global Security Perspectives and Worldviews," Seminar Report, (Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad, 2007), 66-84.

[97] Dr. Gilles Boquérat, "Pakistan-France Relations",2007.

supportive of Pakistan on the Kashmir issue, and various international forums voted for the just resolution of Kashmir. At the beginning of the millennium with the tumultuous events of 9/11, a choice made by Pakistan to part ways with the Taliban and support the coalition effort in Afghanistan was much appreciated, but soon after the attack on Indian Parliament, in December 2001, the spectre of a limited war under the nuclear umbrella was unleashed again, and highlighted furthermore the question of terrorism in South Asia. In this context, the killing in May 2002, by a suicide bomber, of 14 staff members of the French DCN company working on the Agosta submarine project in Karachi was, if not a turning point, a time to think afresh about where Pakistan, and the bilateral relationship, were going. The French Defence Minister arrived soon in Karachi, and French investigators were at one time associated with the enquiry launched by Pakistan authorities on the attack, with not much result. The four Alliances Françaises were closed around the country, and the French Consulate in Karachi limited its activities.

France has wanted to play a sombre role in international affairs and has enthusiastically directed itself into a productive role of defending peace, moderation, the rule of law, and reverence for cultures and dialogue. France supports interaction among various regions based on mutual respect for democratic values, cultural diversity, and pacific coexistence. France also places great emphasis on its relations with the EU and believes that the economic future of France lies in Europe. France is aware of the European standpoint of integration of religion and freedom of expression and has recognized that there is a need for dialogue. Hence, from all aspects, its role in promoting cultural understanding and inter-civilization dialogue is important. This is an area that is of immense significance to Pakistan and has a direct bearing on international stability, peace, and security. Given Europe's adoption of fighting "discrimination, racism and Islamophobia" France could act as a catalyst in promoting harmony and a purposeful dialogue between the EU and the Muslim world and among various civilizations. Pakistan would welcome such a role and an offer itself for promoting this goal.[98]

4.4: Pakistan-Germany Relations:

Since the time of its inception, Pakistan has had deep-rooted and cordial relations with Germany. Germany remained a great friend of Pakistan and continuously supported Pakistan on various issues while also taking extreme measures to help Pakistan through aid. Pakistan-German relations are standing on a solid footing and are based on cooperation. Highlight of the relations is the fact that most of the support that Pakistan receives from Germany is in terms of development aid, including support in democracy, education, economics, and other sectors. Germany is one of the largest trading partners with Pakistan. A large number of Pakistani immigrants have also been living in Germany to earn goodwill. It is said that approximately 35,000 and there are 1200 Germans currently residing in Pakistan, most of them in Karachi, Lahore, and Peshawar. Most of them are development aid workers and supportive of working on the ground. Some of them are doctors, and some of them have volunteered their services. Development NGOs like the German Organization for Technical Cooperation (GIZ) and other politically based development organizations are also working in Pakistan. These organizations are like Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES), which is a private, German non-profit organization committed to the values of Social

[98] Ms Fouzia Nasreen, " Pakistan-France Relations: The Bilateral Dimensions France and Europe As Europe as Seen by Pakistan" in " Pakistan and France : Global Security Perspectives and Worldviews," Seminar Report, (Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad, 2007),

Democracy, Hanns Seidel Foundation (HSF) which is an independent, non-governmental foundation, whose mission is to promote democracy, peace, and development. Freedom, justice and solidarity are the basic principles underlying the work of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS). Germany has also been one of the countries in Europe that remained vital and influential in the political dynamics of Pakistan, including Saudi Arabia, China, the United States, and the United Kingdom.

During the decades of the 60s, the then Foreign Minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, played a significant role in establishing a joint collaborative Institute of Physics and the University of Islamabad, where both Pakistani and German physicists worked together to work jointly. Germany also helped Pakistan to participate in the European Organization for Nuclear Research (CERN) projects and supported Pakistan on numerous occasions for Pakistan's observer status in CERN. Germany also allowed hundreds of Pakistani physicists and mathematicians to conduct their research in the German Electron Synchrotron, a Research center of the Helmholtz Association (DESY). During this decade of the 70s, Bhutto took all the steps to strengthen ties with Germany. German military officials and cadets regularly visit the Pakistan Military Academy, as there is cooperation in the defence fields, where not only cooperation in support and training was given, but also several agreements on sharing of knowledge and expertise in defence equipment production as well. During the 1980s, Germany also supported Pakistan in its quest against the Soviet expansion in Afghanistan and the region. During the era of 1990s, the Pak-German business alliance was formed. In May 1998, there came a hunch in the relations after Pakistan's successful nuclear blasts. Although there has not been any kind of criticism for Pakistan, it has remained critical for India's ambitions in the region for its aggressive approach and instigating an arms race in Asia. Germany is actively involved in the socio-economic development of Pakistan and is one of the active members of Friends of Democratic Pakistan.

Assessment Questions:

- Who are the major powers?
- It is said that there is a weather friendship between China and Pakistan. Explain
- What is the relationship between Pakistan and Great Britain?
- How do you explain the relations of France with Pakistan?
- What are the dynamics of relations between Germany and Pakistan?

Suggested Readings:

- Anwar Hussain Syed, *China & Pakistan: Diplomacy of an Entente Cordiale*(University of Massachusetts Press, 1974).
- John Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics. (*New York: W.W. Norton Company,2001)
- Venu Rajamony, *India-China-US Triangle: A Soft Balance of Power System in the Making* (Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, March 15, 2002).
- Joseph Cirincione, *China's Changing Nuclear Posture: Reactions to the South Asian Nuclear Tests,* (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1999).
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- Sergei DeSilva-Ranasinghe, “Pakistan's Strategic and Foreign Policy Objectives”, 5 May 2011, htttp://www.futuredirections.org.au/publications/indian-ocean/16-pakistans-strategic-and-foreign-policy-objectives.html

Unit: 5

Pakistan and World Regions

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Introduction

To understand Pakistan's foreign policy, it is equally significant to know about Pakistan's relations with various countries of the regions of the world. In this unit, we will discuss in length Pakistan's relations with countries of the region, including the Middle East, Central Asia, South Asia, South East Asia, West Asia, Africa, and South America.

Objectives

After reading this unit, you will be able to;

- About the various regions of the world.
- You will familiarize yourself with the foreign policy of Pakistan with the countries of these regions.

As we have discussed in our previous units about Pakistan's role in world politics and also the foreign policy of Pakistan, here in this unit, we will discuss in detail Pakistan's various foreign policy endeavours in different regions of the world.

5.1: Pak-Middle East Relations:

The Middle East, or Mideast, is often also referred to as the Near East and the area around the eastern Mediterranean; from Turkey to northern Africa and eastward to Iran; the site of such ancient civilizations as Phoenicia and Babylon and Egypt, and the birthplace of Judaism and Christianity, and Islam; had continuous economic and political turmoil in the 20th century. [99]The countries included in this region are Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Oman, Palestine, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey, the United Arab Emirates, and Yemen. The Middle East is the cradle of Western Civilization. In its foreign policy endeavors, Pakistan has close ties with the countries of this region. One common factor that binds Pakistan and the rest of the Middle Eastern states is Islam. This region has three holiest Mosques for Muslims in Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem, apart from numerous other places of respect in Syria, Iraq, Jordan, Egypt, Palestine, and Iran. Sometimes the analyst dealing with the Middle East begins defining the region by including Libya till the end of the Pakistan-Iran border.

Pakistan's relations with Middle Eastern countries are based on deep-rooted historical, religious, and cultural relations, specifically with all the countries of the region. Pakistan also maintains close relations with the Islamic countries of the Middle East. These ties are important for religious, strategic, political, and economic reasons. There is numerous large number of Pakistani diaspora living in these countries to work in various fields. It is estimated that over one million are residing in Saudi Arabia alone. In various other countries of the region, Pakistanis have been there to work and earn goodwill between the countries, along with the remittances to Pakistan that are a major source of foreign-exchange earnings. In the economic cooperation, a large number of Middle Eastern investment companies have invested in Pakistan. They are working in different sectors, including oil exploration, communications, development, construction, etc. Trade ties between the countries of the region are also heartwarming since Saudi Arabia and the UAE are ranked as the second-largest trading partners after the US.[100] This reflects that the bond of relations between Pakistan and the countries of the region is based on strong trade ties. In the case of emergency support, one of the significant examples in this regard is when, during the earthquake of 2005, a few of the first countries that dispatched critical aid, including medicine and important items, dispatched by Saudi Arabia and the UAE. Along with this, thousands of dollars had been donated by the governments and people of these countries.

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[99] Definitions.net, STANDS4 LLC, 2012. "Middle East." accessed June 21, 2012. http://www.definitions.net/definition/Middle East

[100] Azim Ibrahim, U.S. AID to Pakistan- U.S Taxpayers have funded Pakistani Corruption, Belfer Center Disuccssion Paper no 2009-06, International Security Program, Harvard Kennedy School, accessed June15,20012,http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/Final

_DP_2009_06_08092009.pdf

Pakistan has also maintained deep-rooted political ties with these Islamic countries. These states have supported Pakistan on the Kashmir issue and the War on Terror. Muslim countries have always stood by Pakistan in times of crisis just for example, during the time of crisis when Pakistan decided to go for nuclear tests in response to India's nuclear weapons, Saudi Arabia promised 50,000 barrels per day of free oil to help the Pakistanis cope with the economic sanctions that might be triggered by a counter test.[101] They supported Pakistan in every sphere of diplomacy through their support and goodwill. On the other hand, Pakistan has also extended cooperation based on political, strategic, and economic sectors, including support for the Palestinian cause, withholding recognition of Israel. The Organization of Islamic Conference is one platform where Pakistan, along with countries of this region, has joined hands to work together for the greater benefit of the Muslim world. Pakistan, as one of the declared Nuclear powers, is playing a leading role in the Muslim world, and Pakistan has strengthened its Islamic ties by playing a leading role in the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) and has also supported the Palestinian cause. Pakistan is also one of the few countries in the world that has not yet recognized Israel.
In 1955, Pakistan, together with Iran, Iraq, and Turkey, joined the Baghdad Pact, a security arrangement later called the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) after Iraq's withdrawal. CENTO was buttressed in 1964 by a regional arrangement among Pakistan, Iran, and Turkey called the Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD), and economic cooperation activities overshadowed the security aspects of the countries' relations. CENTO was disbanded in 1979 with the overthrow of Shah Muhammad Reza Pahlavi's government in Iran, and the RCD dissolved. The RCD was effectively revived in 1984 as the ECO.[102]
Pakistan has also maintained defence ties with the countries of this region. Many of the Air Force, Naval, and Army cadets from most of the Arab countries routinely enroll in training courses in Pakistan's military academies. Many of the Pakistan Air Force pilots have flown Egyptian, Jordanian, Syrian, and Saudi fighters both in war (1967 & 1973 against Israel) & peacetime as part of their 'foreign deployments'.[103] Units from the Pakistan Army, Navy, and Air Force also serve allotted periods in their respective fields in Saudi Arabia and the UAE as instructors, maintenance crews, etc.[104] While there are strong indications that a company of Elite Pakistani Commandos, the SSG maintains a permanent unit in Saudi Arabia to safeguard Islam's holiest sites as well as the Saudi Royal Family. Much of the United Arab Emirates Air Force and Army is made up of Pakistani military personnel as well.[105]

Pakistan's relations with the Persian Gulf states went strained during the Gulf War in 1990-91, but later, through diplomatic efforts, recovered its position in the region. During that crisis, many of the Pakistanis returned to the country, but later, after the war, Pakistani expatriate workers returned to their jobs, and cooperation in various fields was restored. Later on, these relations continued on firm grounds, and many of the countries of this region made sustained efforts to enhance cooperation in the fields of mutual collaboration. This region, being rich in oil resources, provides a great opportunity for Pakistan to enhance its linkages with the region. Although based on various

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[101] Bruce Riedel, "Saudi Arabia: Nervously Watching Pakistan," accessed June 21, 2012, http://www.brookings.edu/opinions/2008/0128_saudi_arabia_riedel.aspx.
[102] " Pakistan" Country Studies, accessed June 22, 2012, http://countrystudies.us/pakistan/86.htm
[103] "Pakistan Armed Forces," access June 22,2012, http://www.scramble.nl/pk.htm
[104] "Saudi Arabia: Nervously Watching Pakistan," accessed June 21, 2012, http://www.brookings.edu/opinions/2008/0128_saudi_arabia_riedel.aspx.
[105] Ibid

commonalities of religious and cultural heritage, Pakistan has pursued policy goals that are long-term and sustainable.

5.2: Pak-Central Asia Relations:

Since the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the energy-rich and landlocked Central Asian Republics
(CARs) have assumed great significance in Pakistan's foreign policy considerations. Pakistan's geographical proximity with the Central Asian region, the geopolitical and geo-economic significance of the CARs, and the desire to become the gateway to Central Asia have stimulated Islamabad's interest in building closer political and economic ties with the region, which includes five republics of the former Soviet Union: Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. Historically, the areas that make up Pakistan have had close cultural and economic relations with the region. Central Asia has been closely tied to its nomadic people and the Silk Route, which has acted as a crossroads for the movement of people, goods, and ideas between Europe and Asia for centuries. British occupation of India and Russia's control over Central Asia disrupted these ties in the late 19th century. [106]
Soon after gaining independence from Britain in 1947, Pakistan joined the anti-communist bloc, which prevented Islamabad from developing close relations with the Central Asian region. Pakistan had no direct contact with Central Asia under Soviet rule, and Islamabad's support for the Afghan Mujahedin in the Soviet-Afghan war added to frosty relations. Support for extremist forces in Afghanistan in the 1990s and the emergence of several Jihadist/militant movements in Central Asia also complicated Islamabad's relations with the region. [107]Pakistan renounced its pro-Taliban policy after 9/11, and the shift in Pakistan's foreign policy since then has enhanced Islamabad's cooperation and economic links with Central Asia. However, the nature of Pakistan's relations with former Soviet Central Asia has largely been economic rather than political or strategic.[108]

Pakistan and the CARs share many things, including religion and cultural ties. However, Islamabad's desire for close political and economic ties with the Central Asian region has been plagued by its foreign policy, mainly on Afghanistan. Pakistan's ties with the region are nowhere near as robust as the initial warmth had indicated when these Central Asian republics gained independence after the collapse of the Soviet Union. A multitude of internal and external challenges facing the region have hampered progress in that regard. Unlike the other main players in the region, including Russia, China, India, Iran, Turkey, and the US, Pakistan's political

[106] Farhat Asif, " Pakistan's ties with Central Asian States: Irritants and Challenges" , *Conflict and Peace Studies*, Vol 4, No. 1(2011), 1.
[107] It refers to the spillover effect Pakistan faced at the societal and political level after supporting the Taliban. Afghan refugees, drug and human trafficking, rise in heroine addicts, worsening law and order situation, ethnic and sectarian violence, weaponization of the society, change of the world view for Pakistan as a fundamental state are some of the effects of Pakistan's unplanned Afghan policy over the years. Several scholars dealing specific with Pakistan's Afghan policy deal the issue in length See for example Ahmad Rashid, " The Taliban-Exporting Extremism" *Foreign Affairs*(1999), Mattinudin(1999), Imtiaz Gul, *The Unholy Nexus: Pak-Afghan Relations under the Taliban* (Lahore: Vanguard, 2002), 7-8.
[108] Ibid.

conditions and fragile economy have prevented it from engaging with Central Asia. The unrest in Afghanistan has also affected Pakistan's ties with the CARs. [109]

The poor law and order situation in Balochistan and FATA, particularly along the border with Afghanistan, is a major challenge in the realization of the economic ventures that Pakistan seeks to pursue in the form of proposed pipelines bringing oil and gas from Central Asia to Pakistan, China, and India. Competing interests of various regional and global powers, aimed at accessing the energy resources of the Central Asian region, have also been a hurdle in Pakistan's efforts to cultivate good relations with the CARs. The presence of US and NATO forces in the region has implications for inter-state relations, particularly US-Russia ties. Two factors most likely to sway the foreign policy of the CARs are potential economic benefits and getting rid of the extremist elements linked to the Taliban and Al Qaeda.[110]

With the emergence of the five Central Asian Republics, the geo-political order in the close vicinity of Pakistan has witnessed the rise of this region into a new geo-political space of various regional and extra-regional players. Due to the presence of enormous amounts of hydrocarbon and natural gas reserves in addition to its geo-strategic and geo-economic salience at the centre of the Eurasian continent and the major geo-political massifs, Islamic, Chinese, and Indian, the region has undoubtedly become a region of critical strategic importance and intensified international interests.

Pakistan has accorded high priority to the Central Asian region, and despite the limitations and constraints, it has still worked to preserve its economic and strategic interests in the region. It is in the interest of Pakistan to be an influential player in the emerging security alignments and changes in the geo-strategic balance in the region. Keeping in view the changing parameters of the dynamic strategic environment and security interests in the region, because of the close geographical proximity and its future energy security, Pakistan must not only sustain its current diplomatic thrust in the region but reinvigorate it to a far higher level.

5.3: Pak-South Asia Relations

South Asia is a vast region encompassing eight nations (if we include Afghanistan) and over one-fifth of humanity. The region is also known as the Indian Subcontinent and comprises of the Himalayas and it links Asia from west to east. Topographically, it is dominated by the Indian Plate, which rises above sea level as the Indian subcontinent south of the Himalayas and the Hindu Kush. South Asia is surrounded (clockwise, from west) by Western Asia, Central Asia, Eastern Asia, Southeastern Asia, and the Indian Ocean. According to the United Nations geographical region classification, [111] South Asia comprises countries that include Pakistan, India, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, the Maldives, and Afghanistan. South Asia is home to over one-fifth of humanity, thus making it the most populous and most densely populated region of the world.

The South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC) is an economic organization in the region. The organization was established in 1985 by the then President of Bangladesh, Mr. Ziaur Rahman, and the aim of the establishment of this kind of regional forum was to enhance cooperation in the field of economy, technology, social, and cultural development. The seven-

[109] Ibid, 2

[110] Dr Riffat Hussain, "Pakistan's relations with Afghanistan: Continuity and Change," *in The Anatomy of a conflict – Afghanistan and 9/11* (New Delhi: Lotus collection 2002), 190.

[111] United Nations Composition of macro geographical (continental) regions, geographical sub-regions, and selected economic and other, accessed June 15,2012, http://millenniumindicators.un.org/unsd/methods/m49/m49regin.htm#asia

member group includes all the countries of South Asia. Afghanistan was given the membership status in 2007. Every year, the meeting of heads of state is held annually, while the meetings of foreign secretaries are held twice annually. It is headquartered in Kathmandu, Nepal. To date, 16 SAARC summits of heads of state have been held, and next year (2013) it would going to be in Nepal. There is very little that has been achieved so far by SAARC. Ever since the inception of this organization, it has become the hostage of the India-Pakistan rivalry. There are many other factors as well that have prevented it not to going for enhanced regional cooperation in the fields of its aspiration. To begin with, none of the member countries of the Saarc, including India, could develop a deep commitment to the Saarc or even have the conviction that it could play an important role in the well-being of the region. [112]Indian apprehension has been that the organization may be used by its smaller neighbours as a platform to exert pressure on New Delhi on issues that are dear to them. The asymmetry between India and other Saarc members in terms of demography and economic and technological development has been another negative factor. The situation was further compounded by bilateral disputes between member countries - between Nepal and Bhutan, India and Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and India, and, most importantly of them all, India and Pakistan. [113]These factors are enough for us to understand that this region, India's attitude towards the smaller neighbours makes them apprehensive towards this region and they look outwards of the region for the fulfilment of their various interests.

As if this were not enough to derail regional cooperation in South Asia, India's big brotherly and domineering attitude in the past made its smaller neighbors apprehensive about their sovereignty, national security, and identities. The overlapping ethnic, linguistic and religious phenomena in South Asia further increased their sense of insecurity. Pakistan, for instance, became keen on assuming an Islamic identity and began to consider itself a part of West Asia rather than South Asia. Bangladesh started looking towards Malaysia and Indonesia. Even Sri Lanka at one time was more eager to be a part of Asean rather than Saarc.

Pakistan's relationship with South Asian states is most of the time defined by Pakistan-India relations. While the rest of the South Asian countries are resting on solid footing. It is one of the regions hard luck that none of the states have their borders meet with each other. Only India has borders with most of them. This geographical remoteness has remained one of the major hurdles in enhancing trade and cooperation within the region. Both India and Pakistan have passed through various levels of relations since the time of inception. Both states have strained relations based on historical and political factors since the time of partition. Kashmir dispute remained a legacy of partition and based on this longstanding dispute, Pakistan and India have fought several wars, including the recent one on Kargil.

Only one war of 1971 which resulted in the formation of Bangladesh, was an exception in this regard. Both states have also recently become nuclear powers thus making this issue a "Nuclear Flash Point". Soon after the independence, both states established formal diplomatic relations but various territorial and monetary disputes led to thorny relations since the beginning. The relations soared after the Siachen conflict, the intensification of the Kashmir insurgency in 1989, Indian and Pakistani nuclear tests in 1998 and the 1999 Kargil war. Certain confidence-building measures — such as the 2003 ceasefire agreement and the Delhi–Lahore Bus service — were successful in deescalating tensions. However, these efforts have been impeded by periodic terrorist attacks. The 2001 Indian Parliament attack almost brought the two nations to the brink of a nuclear war. The

[112] Afzaal Memood, "Saarc revitalized", *Dawn*, 10 January, 2004, accessed June 15,2012, http://archives.dawn.com/2004/01/10/op.htm#1

[113] Ibid.

2007 Samjhauta Express bombings, which killed 68 civilians (most of whom were Pakistani), were also a crucial point in relations. Additionally, the 2008 Mumbai attacks carried out by Pakistani militants[114] resulted in a severe blow to the ongoing India-Pakistan peace talks.

5.4: Pak-South East Asia Relations

One of the sub-regions of Asia, also called South East Asia consists of most of the countries that lie geographically south of China, east of India West of New Guinea and North of Australia. The region is composed of countries such as Laos, Cambodia, Burma (Myanmar), Thailand, Vietnam and Peninsular Malaysia, and Maritime Southeast Asia, comprising Brunei, East Malaysia, East Timor, Indonesia, Philippines, Christmas Island, and Singapore. One of the significant regional forums is known as the Association of South East Nations (ASEAN) which was formed in 1967 after the signing of the ASEAN Declaration (Bangkok Declaration) by the founding fathers of ASEAN namely the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Indonesia and Malaysia. South East Asia has recently achieved the highest economic growth rate. If we consider ASEAN as a single entity, it would rank as the ninth-largest economy in the world. One of the significant advantages of this region is its geographical location, which connects two economic giants, China and India, as well as the Middle East and Western Nations. The rise of Singapore as the centre of trade in Southeast Asia has also provided a better linkage among Southeast Asian nations. The third most important factor is the global economy and its policies. In the past, before Arabs and western-influenced Indonesia, or when India and China became the poles of the global economy, the region was known as "the busy road", which allowed nations on both sides of the Malacca Strait and Java to enjoy a golden age of trade growth.[115] Economic policy is another important factor in the future of this region. At least three institutions are helping this region remain on the right track in international trade relations — ASEAN, APEC (Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation) and the WTO (World Trade Organization).[116]

Pakistan launched its "Vision East Asia" policy in October 2003, that is made to help strengthen bonds of cooperation and friendship with the East Asian region. Pakistan has always been an active member and is playing an active role in the regional economic well-being. First, Pakistan became one of the founding members of the Commonwealth-sponsored Colombo Plan in 1950, and second, it became a Sectoral Dialogue Partner of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) in 1993. Further, Pakistan became the 23rd member of the ASEAN-Regional Forum (ARF) in 2004. Resultantly, Pakistan's entry into the ARF also helped materialize accession to the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation signed with ASEAN in 2004. Pakistan's role as an important partner in the war against terror is naturally pushing it to assume the status of a Full Dialogue Partner of ASEAN. Apart from ASEAN, Pakistan is one of the founding members of the Asian Cooperation Dialogue (ACD) that was initiated in 2001 in Thailand. Pakistan is also vowing to become a member of the newly formed East Asian Community (EAC), whose forthcoming meeting will be held in Cebu, Philippines, on 13 December 2006. Pakistan's diplomatic and

[114] "Pakistan acknowledges suspect in Mumbai attacks is a Pakistani", Los Angeles Times, 2009, http://www.latimes.com/news/printedition/asection/la-fg-pakistan-india8-2009jan08,0,6016768.story
[115]Maddaremmeng A. Panennungi, "ASEAN economies past and future", Jakarta Post, May 11,2011, http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2011/05/11/asean-economies-past-and-future.html
[116]Ibid.

economic engagement with East Asia provides ample rationale for Pakistan to become an EAC member shortly.[117]

The relations with the East Asian countries have been established since the time of independence in 1947 and have remained fully engaged in the region to facilitate and address its issues of economic support, defence, and security needs. Pakistan appeared as a " pillar of strength" on the Japanese Peace Treaty signed in 1952 at San Francisco that restored Japanese sovereignty, put an end to US Occupation, and revived its economy. US Secretary of State John Foster Dulles paid this unprecedented tribute to Pakistan during one of US Senate hearings. These greater security and defence understandings further made Pakistan, the only South Asian country, to become a member of the South East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO), formerly known as the Manila Pact, in 1954, to combat Communism in the region during the Cold War.[118]

While largely aligning itself with the United States on the one hand, Pakistan strongly advocated the cause of freedom struggles and the right to self-determination of the people of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia and opposed all sorts of foreign intervention in the region on the other hand. This made Pakistan's policy distinctive from that of the United States, Great Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, and other countries and created space for building lasting friendships between Pakistan and several East Asian countries, irrespective of their political and economic systems.[119]

Pakistan was accepted as the 24th member of the ASEAN regional forum (ARF) in a foreign minister meeting held in Jakarta. This forum is based on the experience of ASEAN that a process of dialogue can produce qualitative improvements in political relationships. It can be noted that Pakistan's induction into the ARF was not opposed by India, thus showing the change of attitude of India towards Pakistan. This could be considered a major victory in Pakistan's foreign policy. It has helped to improve its image as a nuclear Islamic country. This forum could be utilized by Pakistan to convince members and the world of four things. First of all, regarding the just resolution of the disputes, uprooting the real cause of terrorism, the issue of nuclear proliferation, deprived sections of the society must be brought into the socio-economics milieu of the state. Pakistan and Indonesia should work together in this regard. It can learn the economic and social strategies of these states to better its condition. This forum could be utilized to normalize relations with New Delhi. Pakistan pledged to become the dialogue partner of ASEAN and was given full support, leading to the achievement of the status.[120]

5.5:Pak-West Asia Relations:

The term West Asia is a term that describes the westernmost portion of Asia. It is also similar to the term referring to the region we call as Middle East(which describes its geographical position about Western Europe rather than its location within Asia. Due to this perceived Europe-centric location, world organisations like the United Nations have replaced the Middle East and Near East with the new term Western Asia. The region and Europe are now collectively referred to as Western Eurasia. The countries in West Asia are Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Cyprus, Georgia, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Oman, Occupied Palestinian Territory, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, and Yemen.

As we have already explained in detail, Pakistan's relations with the countries of the region, so you can read that part of the chapter for reference. One thing that can be shared here is that in the

[117]Rashid Malik, " Pakistan's Growing Interaction with East Asian Countries" , *IPRI FactFile,*(2006), V, http://www.ipripak.org/factfiles/ff76.pdf

[118] Ibid,

[119] Ibid,

[120] Safdar Mehmood, *International Affairs,* (Lahore: Carvan Printers,2005),625.

Middle East, we often do not discuss Armenia and Azerbaijan. But in this region of West Asia, we can explain the relations of Pakistan with Armenia and Azerbaijan. Azerbaijan is a Muslim country, and Pakistan has a tremendous relationship with this country. Azerbaijan is rich in oil and other related resources. And if we analyse the relations between Pakistan and Azerbaijan, [121]both states have a symbiotic relationship that is based on mutual trust and affection that had grown since the beginning of the relationship in 1991 when Pakistan became the second country in the world of nations to recoganise Azerbaijan and first one to set the diplomatic mission in Baku Pakistan and Azerbaijan resumed their diplomatic relations soon after the inception of Azerbaijan in 1991. Pakistan continues to support Azerbaijan in a forthright and strong manner, in its dispute with Armenia over Nagorno-Karabakh. Azerbaijan has been firmly and unequivocally supporting Pakistan's effort for the early resolution of the Kashmir dispute, by the relevant UN resolutions.[122]

5.6:Pak-Africa Relations:

Africa is one of the world's second-largest and second-most-populous continents after Asia. The continent has 54 fully recognized sovereign states, nine territories, and three de facto states with limited recognition. All the states are members of the United Nations, and all except Morocco are members of the African Union. The African Union is an organization of all the African states. It was formed in 2002. The Union was established to enhance the integration of the continent, to promote and defend African common positions on issues of mutual interests, to achieve peace and security in Africa, and to promote democratic institutions, good governance, and human rights. Before the African Union, it was the African Unity Organisation. The African continent is rich in natural resources and is called as world's storehouse for strategic raw materials. The continent has been colonized by France, Britain, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Germany, and Belgium. After World War I, African people gained independence, and then they started their struggle for political and economic freedom. The formation of regional organisations like the African Union(AU) replaced the Organisation of African Unity, led to enhanced cooperation and greater integration of the states. Pakistan has deep-rooted and cordial relations with all the African states. Although geographically distant apart, Pakistan is linked to them through the Organisation of Islamic Conference(OIC), the Asian African Regional Organisation Conference(AAROC), and the Non-Aligned Movement have made Pakistan's presence and linkages stronger with these countries. Pakistan is also the highest contributor to the UN Peacekeeping in Africa. [123] Pakistan was the first Muslim country to support the struggle for self-determination of the African states' independence from colonial powers. Many African diplomats travelled on Pakistani passports. Large numbers of students are still studying in Pakistani Universities. A large number of Pakistanis have also served in peacekeeping operations in operations in Congo, Sudan, Namibia, Eritrea, Ghana, and Somalia. Many of the troops are still serving in Sierra Leone. National Defence University and National Defence College in Islamabad is host to many of the Armed Forces cadets from different countries in Africa to have training.

If we review Pakistan's relations with these African states, then we can analyse that economic, trade, and commerce cooperation is quite a blow as desired. Pakistan's exports and imports from

[121] Ministry of Foreign Affairs Pakistan, http://www.mofa.gov.pk/mfa/pages/home.aspx,, Ministry of Foreign Affairs Azerbaijan, http://www.mfa.gov.az/eng/, Ministry of Information, Pakistan , http://www.infopak.gov.pk/, President of Azerbaijan, http://en.president.az/, Embassy of Azerbaijan in Pakistan, http://www.azembassy.com.pk/en/index.php

[122]Official Website of Embassy of Azerbaijan in Pakistan.

[123] UN Peacekeeping Operations and Pakistan, *IPRI FactFile,* Vol.8, no.1(November 2006).

Africa are very small. [124] There is a great need to improve the economic linkages through enhanced trade and cooperation. Pakistan needs to have a forceful economic policy towards this region to explore the abundance of natural resources and investment opportunities in Africa. Pakistan International Airlines shares technical know-how with various airlines in Africa. Asian and African countries, which account for 109 votes, need to speak with one voice at the United Nations or any other international forum. At the same time, 54 Muslim states in the OIC and other United organizations needs to enhance cooperation and develop further links with each other for on strong voice in international politics.

5.7:Pak-South America Relations:

The South American continent is located in the Southern Hemisphere and is considered as South American continent. It is bordered on the west by the Pacific Ocean and on the north and east by the Atlantic Ocean. On the northwest lies North America and the Caribbean. The continent has twelve countries: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Guyana, Paraguay, Peru, Suriname, Uruguay, and Venezuela—as well as French Guiana, which is an overseas region of France, and the Falkland Islands of the UK. A bit about South America is that this content has one of the leading economies of the world, and that is Brazil. South America is the 5th most populous continent, whose ethnicity is mostly influenced by Europe, Spain, Portugal, and the US. The major countries of this continent are Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Peru, and Venezuela. The biggest trade blocs in South America are Mercusor and ALADI.

Mercosur means Common Southern Market and is an agreement between Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay. This treaty was founded in 1991 and later amended in 1994. The purpose of this agreement is to have a free trade, fluid movement of goods. People and currency between the countries of South America. Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru currently have associate member status. MERCOSUR, with its enhanced membership and associate membership of ten countries of South America, has emerged as an important trading bloc. Its burgeoning economy, political stability, and immense potential offer Pakistani entrepreneurs unprecedented opportunities. The two sides also stressed the importance of concluding a Preferential Trade Agreement between Pakistan and MERCOSUR. Pakistan – MERCOSUR Framework Agreement on Trade was signed on 21 July 2006 on the fringe of the bi-annual MERCOSUR Summit held in Cordoba, Argentina. The signing of this Agreement has initiated the process of negotiations between Pakistan and MERCOSUR to conclude a Preferential Trade Agreement and to sign a Free Trade Agreement.[125] Although all South American countries rely mainly on the United States of America, China, and their trading bloc, the MERCOSUR, Pakistan can win their confidence by providing competitive and cheap products.

ALADI is the Latin American Integration Association and which is a trade integration association of the Latin American countries. Pakistan has recently joined this association and acquired observer status on the committee of ALADI. For Pakistan, this forum is equally important to open itself to the market of the countries that are members of ALADI, and it's a great achievement to be part of this forum, which would help Pakistan to integrate itself with these Latin American countries.

[124] Pakistan-Africa Relations, *IPRI Factfile,* December 2006.

[125] Interview with Ms. Naela Chohan, Ambassador of Pakistan to Argentina, *The Diplomatic Insight*, (May ,2012).

Recognising the importance of this region, the government of Pakistan has geared up efforts with more pace to strengthen economic ties with these countries. The separately held bilateral discussions and meetings in the current year between the ambassadors of Pakistan and Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Venezuela are a witness to this prospective step. The trade relations with South America, although already initiated, yet found at the periphery level. These relations must have to touch the core of available options, which are still overlooked or minimally exercised.[126]

Pakistan has been executing trade consistently with North America, the European Union, Asia, and the Middle East under many organisations, multilateral and bilateral agreements with their respective share of exports as 20.52%, 25.04%, 25.36% and 19.57%, respectively. However, the level of exports in Latin and Central America stands at 1.1% and in South America it is 1.6%. Within the share of 1.6% of South America, the key players are Brazil and Argentina. This potential can be enhanced up to an appreciable level by fetching other doable options like the energy sector, pharmaceuticals, agricultural commodities, textiles, marble, paper, and food and vegetable sectors, under the trading umbrella of Pakistan and South America. [127]

Assessment Questions:

- Write brief notes on Central Asia, West Asia, Africa, and the Middle East.
- Write a note on Pakistan's role in SAARC and Shanghai Cooperation Organization.
- How has Pakistan's relationship with countries in Africa?
- Write not on MERCOSUR and ALADI? Complete the abbreviation as well.

Suggested Readings:

Azim Ibrahim, U.S. AID to Pakistan- U.S Taxpayers have funded Pakistani Corruption, Belfer Center Discussion Paper no 2009-06, International Security Program, Harvard Kennedy School, http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/Final_DP_2009_06_08092009.pdf

- Bruce Riedel, "Saudi Arabia: Nervously Watching Pakistan," accessed June 21, 2012, http://www.brookings.edu/opinions/2008/0128_saudi_arabia_riedel.aspx.
- Dr Riffat Hussain, "Pakistan's relations with Afghanistan: Continuity and Change, " in The Anatomy of a conflict –Afghanistan and 9/11 (New Delhi: Lotus collection 2002), 190.
- Pakistan-Africa Relations, IPRI Factfile, December 2006.
- Mushaid Hussain Syed, Chairman Foreign Relations Committee, Senate Foreign Relations Committee Report no. 8,(December 2005)

[126] Ali Raza Bashir "South America - new trade horizon for Pakistan" *Business Recorder,* November 16, 2011 http://www.brecorder.com/articles-a-letters/single/626/187/1251557/

[127] Ibid.

Unit 6

Pakistan and the Muslim World Issue

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Introduction

Pakistan is the leading country in the Muslim world. It is the only Muslim country with nuclear power status. Pakistan has always remained an ardent supporter of the Muslim world in solving unresolved disputes. Sadly to note that most of the international conflicts are related to the Muslim world. In this unit, we will discuss in length various disputes, including Kashmir, Palestine, Nagorno-Karabakh, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, and Afghanistan. Along with giving historical facts, the unit also reflects upon Pakistan's standpoint and support for the cause of just solutions to the problems.

Objectives

After reading this unit, you will be able to:

- Familiarize yourself with various issues of the Muslim world.
- Understand historical facts about the issues.
- Know more about the conflicts and the role of Pakistan in supporting them.

6.1. Palestine

6.1.1: Introduction

The Israeli–Palestinian conflict is an ongoing dispute between the State of Israel and the Palestinians and is part of the wider Arab–Israeli conflict. This is the most enduring conflict of the Muslim world. Muslims around the world and the International Community, on various occasions in the United Nations, have supported the Palestinian people and always called for a just resolution of the conflict. The roost dates back centuries, and the historic claim to the land lies between the eastern shores of the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River. In very simple terms, for the Palestinians, the last 100 years have brought colonisation, expulsion, and military occupation by the Jews, followed by a long and difficult search for self-determination and for coexistence with the nation they hold responsible for their suffering and loss. For the Jewish people of Israel, the return to the land of their forefathers after centuries of persecution around the world has not brought peace or security.[128]

The conflict dates back to the early 19th Century when the first Zionist Congress was formed by Theodor Herzl, in Basel, Switzerland, to promote the cause for the settlement of Jews in the holy land of Palestine. This concept of the movement of settling Jews towards today's Israel is also known as Zionism. As a result of this movement, Jews also started moving towards Palestine as they believed that the " Land of Canaan," i.e., modern Palestine, was given by God to the Jews on their exodus from Egypt, so it was their religious right to return to their land. A more significant movement started after World War 2, when Jews of the world faced a huge holocaust (killings) at the hands of the Nazis and Hitler. The surviving Jews felt that they needed a land or a place where they could be safe, and naturally looked to Palestine for their refuge because of the religious connotations. [129] Another major factor of that time was World War I, which caused a huge threat to the Jews in Europe. The conflict in the land started as the Palestinian land, inhabited by Muslims, who were in the majority at that time; also, consider this as a religious land. The land of Palestine is also sacred as it is the place of origin of three larger religions of the world, i.e. Islam, Christianity, and Judaism. The Rising migration of Jews towards Palestine was proving fatal for the Arabs and Jews in Palestine, as Jews were not ready to compromise their position of having a land since they had escaped the Holocaust conditions in Europe and looked at Palestine as their land. While the Arabs wanted to stay in the majority. [130]

6.1.2 Balfour Declaration 1917

During World War I, the British sided and supported the Arab revolt against the Ottoman Empire and promised the Arabs self-rule, while on the other hand supporting Jews and promising them a new homeland in present-day Palestine. Soon after World War 1, British Foreign Secretary Arthur James Balfour sent a letter to the President of the Zionist Federation, wherein he declared that his government would "view with favour the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine". In 1917, Arthur James Balfour, as Foreign Secretary, authored the Balfour

[128] "BBC: A History of Conflict" accessed 10 June 2012, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/spl/hi/middle_east/03/v3_ip_timeline/html/

[129] "Wiki Answers" accessed 11 June, 2012http://wiki.answers.com/Q/Why_did_the_Jewish_want_to_settle_in_palestine#ixzz1xT1l03dU

[130] "The Israeli –Palestinian: Historical and Perspective Intervention Analysis, October 2002" http://www.cartercenter.org/documents/1435.pdf

Declaration, which supported the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. The Balfour Declaration pledged England's support of Zionist goals to win the support of international, especially American, Jews to the Allies during World War I. In 1916, one year before the Balfour Declaration, a secret agreement was made between the British War Cabinet and Zionist leaders promising the latter a "national home" in Palestine in consideration of their efforts to bring the United States into World War I on the side of Great Britain.[131]
One of the great historians, James Gelvin wrote in his book that the major reason for the issuance of the Balfour Declaration was to invite Russia and the US to play their role in World War I by using the Jewish card. [132] This declaration is pivotal in creating and paving the way for a Jewish homeland in the territory that was of the Palestinians.

6.1.3: British Mandate Period: 1920-1948.

After the Balfour declaration, the conflict in the region started mounting resulting in unending conflict between Arabs and Jews that rose to fierce killings from both sides during the beginning of the decade of 1920s. In 1922, the then League of Nations approved the British Mandate for Palestine. This meant that Britain would take care of all the matters of Palestine and its territories. At the same time, was French mandate was imposed on Syria as well. The objective of this Mandate system was to administer the part of the defunct Ottoman Empire after World War I. The mandate system also formalized the creation of two distinct British protectorates - Palestine, as a national home for the Jewish people under direct British rule, and Transjordan, an Emirate governed semi-autonomously from Britain under the rule of the Hashemite family.[133] During the year 1929, bloody riots erupted in the region, causing huge loss of lives to the Jews. In 1936, Arab leader and Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin al-Husseini, used his power and resources to announce a grand strike in the region, which led to a massive Arab revolt against British rule and massive Jewish migration. This revolt lasted for three years between 1936-1939. During these revolts, almost 5000 Arabs were slaughtered and massacred. [134]

During the period of the mandate, the British tried to maintain the peace, but due to the anti-Semitic policy of Hitler increased the influx of Jews into Palestine increased, causing further Arab resentment. The Jewish population rose to nearly half a million in 1935. The Arab rebellion started in 1936 and continued to expand until a major British Military effort suppressed it two years later.

6.1.4: United Nations Resolution and Establishment of Israel:

In November 1947, with a two-thirds majority vote, the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution that mandated the adoption and implementation of a plan of partition of the British

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[131] "Palestinian-Israeli Conflict", accessed 9 June 2012,
http://www.azdema.gov/museum/famousbattles/pdf/Palestinian-Israeli%20Conflict-072809.pdf
[132] James Gelvin , *The Israel-Palestine Conflict: One Hundred Years of War(*New York: Cambridge,2005), 82-83.
[133]" British Command Paper 1785, December 1922", accessed 11 June 2012, at
http://unispal.un.org/pdfs/Cmd5479.pdf
[134] For more information on Arab Revolt, Matthew Hughes, "From Law and Order to Pacification: Britain's Suppression of the Arab Revolt in Palestine 1936–39," *Journal of Palestine Studies,* XXXIX, no. 2 (Winter 2010),1–17, http://bura.brunel.ac.uk/bitstream/2438/4689/1/Fulltext.pdf, accessed 11 June 2012,

Mandate of Palestine, "Independent Arab and Jewish States" and a "Special International Regime for the City of Jerusalem" which would later be administered by the United Nations.[135] This resulted in bloody clashes between Arabs and Jews in the holy land, which are still making a mark on the Palestinian and Arab politics in the region. The British proposed a White Paper plan of 1939, which established a quota for Jewish immigration set by the British in the short short-term and by the Arab population in the long term. This created huge resentment against the British Mandatory government.

6.1.5: Second World War and after.

The violence and the heavy cost of World War II led Britain to turn the issue of Palestine over to the United Nations. In 1947, the U.N. approved the partition of the British Mandate of Palestine into two states: one Jewish and one Arab. The Jewish leadership accepted the plan, but Palestinian Arab leaders, supported by the Arab League, rejected the plan, and a civil war broke out. Israel quickly gained the upper hand in this inter-communal fighting, and on May 14, 1948, declared its independence. Five Arab League countries (Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Transjordan, and Iraq) then invaded Palestine, starting the 1948 Arab-Israeli War. The war resulted in an Israeli victory, with Israel capturing additional territory beyond the partition borders, but leaving Jerusalem as a divided city; the territory Israel did not capture was taken over by Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, and Transjordan (now Jordan). The war also resulted in the 1948 Palestinian exodus, known to Palestinians as Al-Naqba.[136] For decades after 1948, Arab governments had refused to recognize Israel, and in 1964, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) was founded with the central tenet that Palestine, with its original Mandate borders, is the indivisible homeland of the Arab Palestinian people. In turn, Israel refused to recognize the PLO as a negotiating partner.[137]

6.1.6: The Six-Day War / The 1967 Arab-Israeli War:

It all began when Egypt, Jordan, Syria, and Iraq moved their armies to Israel's borders. Egypt closed the international waterway, the Straits of Tiran, to all Israeli shipping, an act of war according to international law. These actions were accompanied by publicly stated intentions by Arab leaders to destroy Israel. After weeks of fruitless diplomacy, Israel launched a preemptive strike against the Arab armies mobilized on its borders, and a six-day war ensued between Israel and Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and Iraq. In the Six-Day War in 1967, Israel captured the West Bank from Jordan, the Gaza Strip from Egypt, and East Jerusalem, including the Old City and its holy sites, which Israel annexed and reunited with the Western neighborhoods of Jerusalem.[138] During this war, as Israel gained the land from Egypt, Jordan, and Syria, it was a huge gain in Palestine by Israel from the Arabs. In 1967, Arab Muslims met in Khartoum qA@Za 1967 and declared their unwillingness to make peace with Israel. In 1970, after an attempt by the PLO to overthrow Pro pro-Western government of King Hussein, the Jordanian army attacked PLO forces in what

[135] "Resolution 181 (II). Future Government of Palestine" accessed 11 June, 2012 http://domino.un.org/unispal.nsf/0/7f0af2bd897689b785256c330061d253

[136] "Palestinian-Israeli conflict" accessed 12 June 2012,http://www.procon.org/PDF/bostonu_theology.pdf

[137] Ibid.

[138] "Timeline of the Arab-Israeli Conflict and Peace process" accessed 12 June 2012 http://www.icsresources.org/content/factsheets/ArabIsraeliTimeline.pdf

became known as “Black September.” Fighting continued until June of 1971, when Jordan succeeded in evicting the PLO from the country. The PLO moved its base of operations to Lebanon. [139] The United Nations General Assembly Resolution 3379, adopted on November 10, 1975, by a vote of 72 to 35 (with 32 abstentions), "determined [d] that Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination". The resolution was revoked by Resolution 46/86 on December 16, 1991.

6.1.7: Yom Kippur War and Sabra and Shatila Massacre:

In 1973, a coalition of Arab states led by Egypt and Syria launched the Yom Kippur War against Israel. This is called the Yom Kippur War because it started on the holiest day for Jews, Yom Kippur. This was done because of the growing infiltration and penetration of Israel into Muslim states. After initial Arab military successes, the Israelis managed to push back the attack. Eventually, a cease-fire took effect, which ended the war. This war paved the way for the Camp David Accords in 1978, which set a precedent for future peace negotiations. Tensions between Israel and the PLO led Israel to invade Lebanon in the 1982 Lebanon War, forcing the PLO to withdraw again, this time to Tunisia. During the war, Israeli forces committed the Sabra and Shatila massacre, between 700 and 3500 defenceless Palestinians were killed by forces while the Israeli troops surrounded the camps with tanks and checkpoints, monitoring entrances and exits. Further Israeli investigation found the involvement of Ariel Sharon in the whole plot of the massacre.

6.1.8: First Intifada(Struggle):

In 1987, the First Intifada broke out, a Palestinian uprising against Israeli rule in the occupied territories. The uprising spread in Gaza, the West Bank, and East Jerusalem. The Intifada was renowned for its stone-throwing demonstrations by youth against the heavily armed Israeli Defense Forces. Throughout the First Intifada, a total of 1,551 Palestinians and 422 Israelis were killed. During the intifada, in 1987, Ahmed Yassin co-founded Hamas with Abdel Aziz al-Rantissi. Hamas has been involved in what it calls "armed resistance" against Israel since then. In 1991emboldened by success in the Gulf War, U.S. President George H.W. Bush co-sponsored, with the Soviet Union, a conference in Madrid between Israel and Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and the Palestinians, who met with Israeli negotiators for the first time. The dialogue achieves little, but it creates a long-missing framework for talks. On August 20, 1993Yasser Arafat and Yitzhak Rabin signed the Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government in Oslo. This event is also seen by many people as the definitive end to the First Intifada. (although some argue it had effectively ended by 1991–1992). By 1993, the violence of the Intifada had claimed the lives of 1162 Palestinians and 160 Israelis.
Later in 1993-1994Secret Israel-Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) talks in Norway yielded the first deal between the two sides, the Oslo Accords. They recognize one another and

[139] To read more about the Six day war and its related analysis see Michael B. Oren, “The Revelations of 1967: New Research on the Six Day War and Its Lessons for the Contemporary Middle East” *Israel Studies,* 10, no.2 (2005), 1-14, http://muse.jhu.edu/login?auth=0&type=summary&url=/journals/israel_studies/v010/10.2oren.pdf, Transcript, Robert S. McNamara Oral History, Special Interview I, 3/26/93, Robert Dallek, Internet Copy, LBJ Library, http://www.lbjlib.utexas.edu/johnson/archives.hom/oralhistory.hom/McNamaraR/McNamara-SP1.PDF andhttp://www.sixdaywar.org/

chart a five-year plan for Israel to cede control of the territories to a new Palestinian Authority and for Palestinian leaders to crack down on terrorism before a final peace agreement. Rabin and Jordan's King Hussein signed another peace treaty a year later. In 1994, Yasser Arafat returned from exile to head the Palestinian National Authority (PNA).In 1995, Jewish extremist Yigal Amir assassinated Rabin, who in his second term had become a strong advocate of a two-state solution. The Oslo peace process sputters.

6.1.9: Second Intifada

The peace was very short-lived in the region. The Second Intifada broke out in September 2000 when opposition leader Ariel Sharon visited the Temple Mount. This area was administered by Waqf (Under Israeli law, each religious group was granted administration of their holy sites). In September 2000, Israeli General Ariel Sharon visited the Jewish Temple Mount, a site revered by Jews that is also of major importance to Muslims. There was widespread frustration at the lack of progress in the peace process. Many Palestinians claimed that Sharon's visit was provocative and began to riot. Many Israelis claimed that Sharon's visit was a pretext for violence, not its cause. This visit began the Second Intifada, known to Palestinians as the Al-Aqsa Intifada, named for the Al-Aqsa Mosque, which is on the Temple Mount. The conflict caused great bloodshed and suffering on both sides. Israelis were terrorized by numerous suicide bombers who targeted and killed hundreds of civilians. In response, Israel's military returned to major population centres in the territories and carried out operations against terrorist targets. Since terrorists operate among the civilian population, Palestinian civilians were also unintentional victims of the intifada. The result of the failed peace process has been a prolonged condition of misery for both peoples. There is no definitive event marking the end of the Second Intifada. Many people suggest late 2004 or early 2005. Others argue it never stopped.

6.1.10: Israel Begins Constructing a Security Barrier

In 2002, Israel decided to build a security barrier that would separate its citizens from terrorist groups in the West Bank. The new fence was similar to the security fence Israel built in 1996 that separated the Gaza Strip from Israel. Both fences have been effective in dramatically reducing the number of suicide bombings in Israel coming from the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. However, the barrier – which is, for the most part, a fence, but is a wall in areas near urban centres has been criticized for dividing some Palestinians from their land and places of work or study and requiring these individuals to wait to pass through security checkpoints. Other people argue that the barrier is temporary and can be removed in the context of true peace, but that lives lost to terrorism cannot be brought back.[140]

6.1.11: The Roadmap for Peace:

The Roadmap for Peace, known as the Roadmap, is a plan for peace that was proposed in 2003 by the "Quartet:" the United States, Russia, the European Union, and the United Nations. It involves reciprocal steps by the Israelis and Palestinians with the ultimate goal of an independent

[140]"Timeline of the Arab-Israeli Conflict and Peace process" accessed 12 June 2012 http://www.icsresources.org/content/factsheets/ArabIsraeliTimeline.pdf

Palestinian state and a secure Israel. The Roadmap is divided into three phases, but has never progressed past the first. Progress on the Roadmap was completely halted following the Palestinian election of Hamas in 2006. Hamas is a terrorist organization committed to destroying Israel. Negotiations between Israel and the Palestinian Authority became possible again when the Palestinian president, Mahmoud Abbas, dissolved the government controlled by Hamas. On November 27, 2007, the basic principles of the Roadmap were reaffirmed at the Annapolis Conference. There has yet to be significant progress as a result of the Roadmap or the Annapolis Conference.[141]

6.1.12: Israel' Disengagement:

In 2005-6, Prime Minister Ariel Sharon began a process that led Israel to unilaterally withdraw from the Gaza Strip and four West Bank settlements as part of a larger policy of "disengagement," or the separation of Israel from Palestinian territories. The Gaza disengagement was very controversial domestically because Israeli soldiers were required to uproot Israeli citizens who wanted to remain in their communities in Gaza. Nevertheless, Israel decided to remove itself from this territory so that the Palestinians living there could govern themselves. The plan has been criticized because it was not done as part of negotiations with the Palestinians and did not require the removal of all West Bank settlements (four were dismantled). After Israel withdrew from Gaza, the number of rockets fired by terrorists from Gaza into Israel increased dramatically.

6.1.13: Hamas Government:

In January 2006, Palestinians elected a majority of Hamas members to the Palestinian Authority's legislature over the PLO's Fatah party that had previously been in power. People have speculated that Hamas won the elections because many Palestinians saw the previous government as corrupt. In its charter, Hamas calls for the destruction of Israel and the killing of Jews. It does not accept previous Palestinian-Israeli agreements. The group has claimed responsibility for hundreds of terrorist attacks. As a result of the election, many Western nations imposed sanctions and suspended aid to the Palestinian Authority that they declared would be lifted once Hamas recognized Israel's right to exist, forswore violence, and accepted previous Palestinian-Israeli agreements.

6.1.14: Lebanon War:

Hezbollah is an Islamist organization committed to wiping out Israel. It is based in Lebanon and is believed to be heavily supported by Iran and Syria. On July 11, 2006, it crossed the Lebanon-Israel border and attacked an Israeli army unit, killing eight soldiers and kidnapping two more who were later murdered. At the same time, it began launching rockets into Israeli cities and towns. In response, Israel launched air strikes on suspected Hezbollah military targets, particularly rocket launchers, and mounted a ground offensive. This conflict is known as the 2006 Lebanon War or the Second Lebanon War. Hezbollah used a human shield strategy by embedding its fighters and rocket launchers in civilian neighbourhoods and homes. This resulted in the loss

[141] Ibid, 6.

of civilian lives as well as property damage when Israel retaliated. Israel also damaged Lebanese transportation infrastructure in an attempt to prevent Hezbollah from resupplying and redeploying. Hostilities officially ended with UN Cease-Fire Resolution 1701, passed on August 11, 2006.

6.1.15: Battle of Gaza:

There had been great tension and occasional conflict between Hamas and the PLO Fatah since Hamas won the Palestinian election in January 2006. In June 2007, Hamas militants attacked Fatah members throughout Gaza. In response, the Palestinian Authority president, Mahmoud Abbas, dissolved the Hamas government. Today, there are, in effect, two Palestinian governments. Hamas controls Gaza, and the Palestinian Authority controls the West Bank. Western sanctions on the Palestinian Authority were lifted after the Hamas government was dissolved.
Between December 27, 2008, and January 18, 2009, Israel attacked Hamas targets in Gaza to stop rocket attacks on southern Israel and to disrupt terrorist infrastructure and weapons smuggling. Hundreds of militants were killed. However, because Hamas was based in and launched attacks from urban areas, there were also many civilian casualties and Gaza's buildings and economy were heavily damaged.

6.1.16: 2011-2012:

Obama enrages Netanyahu by proposing that new negotiations start from pre-1967 borders with land swaps, while the Palestinians pursue statehood at the United Nations instead of talks. As 2012 begins, Mideast negotiator Ross recalls what Israeli official Dan Meridor once told him, "'The peace process is like riding a bicycle: When you stop pedalling, you fall off.'" The Israelis and Palestinians, Ross says, "have stopped pedaling.

These short quotes do not, of course, prove the assertions made here. The historical evidence, however, is overwhelming and is available in fully documented form in the books cited.[142] However, this conflict seems an endless ordeal for the people of Palestine, who had suffered a lot till the time the whole conflict began. After the tremendous loss of lives and property, it is now the sole responsibility of the world and international organizations to find permanent and just solutions for the people of this region who have been longing for peace for so long.

6.2. Kashmir

Pakistan's principled position on Jammu and Kashmir is based on the UN Security Council Resolutions, which provide that the final disposition of Jammu and Kashmir will be made by the will of the people. Pakistan is committed to this position. Pakistan has always emphasized the necessity of a meaningful, constructive, and result-oriented dialogue to resolve the Jammu and Kashmir dispute. In their struggle for self-determination, the Kashmiri people have undergone untold suffering and hardship over the decades. Pakistan believes that the Kashmiri people must be associated with the Pakistan-India dialogue process to arrive at a sustainable solution. Their legitimate aspirations cannot be ignored and must be accommodated in any just and durable

[142] John Quigley, *Palestine and Israel: A Challenge to Justice* (Duke University Press, 1990), Noam Chomsky, *The Fateful Triangle: The United States, Israel & The Palestinians,(*South End Press, 1983), Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi, *Original Sins: Reflections on the History of Zionism and Israel*,(Olive Branch Press, 1993), Sami Hadawi, *Bitter Harvest* (Caravan Books 1979).

solution.

6.2.1: History:

The Kashmir dispute between Pakistan and India dates back to the partition of British India into two independent states in August 1947. At the time, the princely states under British suzerainty but not directly ruled by the British Government opted for joining either Pakistan or India, taking into account their contiguity to one or the other country and the wishes of their people. In the case of Jammu and Kashmir, the ruler was Hindu while the population was overwhelmingly Muslim and wanted to join Pakistan. In this case, India consistently pressured the Hindu Ruler to accede to India. Apprehending that the Hindu ruler was likely to succumb to Indian pressure, the people of Jammu and Kashmir rose against him, forcing him to flee from Srinagar, the capital of the State. They formed their government on 24th October, 1947. On the 27th of October, 1947, the Government of India alleged that the ruler had acceded to India based on a fraudulent instrument of accession, sent its forces into the State, and occupied a large part of Jammu and Kashmir. Indian leaders, including Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and Viceroy Lord Mountbatten, solemnly declared that the people of the State would decide the final status of Jammu and Kashmir. For over half a century, the Kashmir dispute has bedevilled relations between Pakistan and India. Several efforts for the resolution of the issue, both at multilateral and bilateral levels, have failed to show any meaningful result.

6.2.2:United Nations Security Council Resolution:

India took the matter to the UN Security Council in 1948. The UN Security Council, through its Security Council Resolutions No. 47 (1948), 51 (1948), 80 (1950), and the United Commission for India and Pakistan resolutions of 13 August 1948 and 5 January 1949, declared that accession of Jammu & Kashmir to India or Pakistan should be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite. These UN resolutions were accepted by both India and Pakistan. Prime Minister Nehru declared before the Indian Parliament that India was committed to holding a free and fair plebiscite in Kashmir. However, India reneged on its commitment to hold a plebiscite on the pretext of this stance.

In 1951, India projected the rigged assembly elections in the Indian-occupied Kashmir as a substitute for the UN-sponsored plebiscite. However, the UN Security Council Resolution No.91 (1951) denied the authority of the Constituent Assembly to decide about the future of the state and reminded the parties that the final disposition of the state of Jammu & Kashmir is to be made by the will of the people of Kashmir. The UN Resolution No.122 (1957) reaffirmed the earlier resolution of 1951, stating that the elections could not be held as a substitute for the plebiscite.

India now claims that Kashmir is an integral part of India. This contention is misleading and incorrect for the following reasons:

- The disputed character of Jammu & Kashmir has been recognized by the UN, accepted by both India and Pakistan, and endorsed by the international community.
- The Line of Control in the disputed area of Jammu & Kashmir is not an international boundary and is recognized as such by India.
- There is complete alienation in the Indian-occupied Kashmir (IoK) against Indian rule.
- Pakistan and India, in the Joint Statement of 6 January 2004, are committed to seeking a final

settlement of the Jammu & Kashmir dispute.

6.2.3: Composite Dialogue Process:

Outside the UN, direct negotiations between Pakistan and India were held from the very inception of the dispute in 1947. Several rounds of negotiations were held during the past five decades, but they have not resulted in any meaningful or substantive progress, as India adamantly maintained that the status quo cannot be changed.

Till February 1994, India and Pakistan were engaged in sporadic dialogues that always ended with little progress on the disputed land of Kashmir. In June 1997, the foreign secretaries of the two countries met in Islamabad and resumed the stalled dialogue process. They institutionalized the process by identifying eight areas, including Peace and Security, including CBMs, Jammu and Kashmir, Siachin, Sir Creek, Wullar Barrage/Tulbul Navigation Project, Terrorism and Drug, Economic and Commercial Cooperation; and Promotion of Friendly Exchanges in Various Fields to deliberate upon and established working groups to make progress on each issue separately but simultaneously. This entire process was called off when the Kargil confrontation occurred.

In 2004, India and Pakistan launched a renewed peace process aimed at resolving all their longstanding disputes. It was decided to continue the process and build a road map on the basis of the Lahore Declaration. *The second round of talks* was held in October 2005, where the joint statement renewed the outcomes of earlier talks in 2004 and earlier in 2005. The main focus was the settlement of the issue of Jammu and Kashmir, and the two sides agreed not to "let terrorism impede the peace process". Both states agreed to initiate the bus service between Lahore and New Delhi, and the return of prisoners was discussed. An agreement was inked on pre-notification of flight-testing of ballistic missiles, and a memorandum of understanding (MoU) was signed on the establishment of a communication link between the Pakistan Maritime Security Agency and the Indian Coast Guard. *The third round of talks* was started in New Delhi on 17-18 January 2006 by the Foreign Secretaries of India and Pakistan. The process was reviewed and agreed to mandate two expert groups to continue consultations on security concepts and nuclear doctrines to develop measures for confidence building in the nuclear and conventional fields.

The fourth round of dialogue was held in Islamabad on March 13-14, 2007, with a focus on the Jammu and Kashmir dispute, peace, and security. In the context of peace and security, the two sides discussed a wide range of issues relating to their conventional and nuclear military capabilities and reviewed the entire process. Both sides agreed on launching a bus service between Kargil and Skardu in the Northern Areas and a truck service between Srinagar and Muzaffarabad. It was agreed that the Joint Committee of Retired Judges was set up to look into the prisoners' issues. The "No Development of New Posts and Defense Works" agreement was proposed while the Joint Counter-Terrorism Mechanism was agreed. The process received a dent when the Mumbai train blasts on July 11, 2006, caused a postponement in the foreign secretary-level talks. India falsely blamed elements from Pakistan for their involvement in the blasts. This decision was the joint statement, issued on April 18, 2005, by the leaders of Pakistan and India, which states that, "Terrorist acts would not be allowed to derail the peace process." *The fifth round* of Interior/Home Secretary Level Talks between Pakistan and India on Terrorism and Drugs Trafficking was held in Islamabad on 25-26 November 2008. The states issued a joint statement on terrorism and drug trafficking, condemning terrorism "in all its forms and manifestations" and also agreed to exchange "prisoners and fishermen as a gesture of goodwill and on humane considerations." In July 2009, there was a Prime Minister-levelMinister-level meeting held in

Sharm El Sheikh, Egypt. Both counterparts agreed to jointly fight terrorism and cooperate to counter the threat. They also agreed that "dialogue is the only way forward," along with the creation of "an atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence."
The year 2010 began with a meeting of two foreign ministers, thus setting the context for the year after the resumption of the Composite Dialogue process since the 2008 Mumbai terrorist attacks. Later, in the mid-year, foreign secretary-level talks were held in June, which were resumed after the 2008 Mumbai attacks. India retained its position of countering Lashkar-e-Taiba(LeT) as a precondition for the resumption of any talks and meetings on Jammu and Kashmir, water, and other issues. Later in the month Home/Interior Secretary Level met and further talks on the release of prisoners, while India asked Pakistan to take action against LeT. In July Foreign Minister met to further and reiterated the need to resume the dialogue process. The year ended well with a note of various high-level meetings to resume talks. Earlier this year March, Interior Secretary-level talks were held in March to set up a " hotline" to "facilitate real-time information sharing concerning terrorist threats." Along with this, drug trafficking and mutual consent for the release of prisoners who have completed their sentence were discussed. In May, ministerial-level talks were held on issues of Water and related resources to find an "amicable resolution" of the Indus Water Treaty. Both sides agreed to share a report on the technical aspects of the issue. In June 2011 Home/Interior ministerial level met to finalize the "Bilateral Visa Agreement". This year at the sidelines of the 17th SAARC Summit in Addu, Maldives, the Prime Ministers of both states met to discuss issues of a bilateral nature and to initiate "a new chapter" in relations.

6.3:Nagorno-Karabakh:

6.3.1. History:

The Nagorno-Karabakh region of the Republic of Azerbaijan is part of the geographical area called Garabagh (Qarabag). The name of this part of the country consists of two Azerbaijani words: "qara" (black) and "bag" (garden). The geographical area of Karabakh covers the lands from the Araz River in the south to the Kur River in the north, and from the junction of the Kur and Araz Rivers in the east to the eastern ranges of the Lesser Caucasus in the west.

From ancient times up to the occupation by Russia in the early 19th century, this region was part of different Azerbaijani states. On 14 May 1805, the Treaty of Kurakchay (1805) between Ibrahim Khan, Khan of Karabakh, and Sisianov, representative of the Russian Emperor, was signed. According to this treaty, the Karabakh khanate came under Russian rule.

After the signing of the Gulustan and Turkmanchay treaties, a very rapid mass resettlement of Armenians in the Azerbaijani lands took place, and the subsequent artificial territorial division emerged. Later, during the decline of the Safavid Empire (middle of the 18th century), more than 20 independent Azeri khanates (territories ruled by a khan) came into existence. One of them was the Iravan Khanate, which lasted until the Russian invasion of the region and the capture of Iravan at the beginning of the 19th century.

Immediately, after the Turkmenchay Treaty (between Russia and Iran), Czar Nicolai I issued a decree on 21 March 1828, according to which "Armenian oblast" was created, consisting of lands of Iravan and Nakhichevan khanates, and at the time of inclusion population of the Iravan City comprised 7331 Azeris and 2369 Armenians.

Since Azerbaijan's occupation in 1828, Armenians were resettled from Iran, totaling 50 thousand, and from Turkey, totaling 90 thousand, in Azerbaijani lands-the khanates of Irevan (now Yerevan), Karabakh and Nakhchivan.

Russian envoy A. Griboedov noted, “It's necessary to resettle Armenians from the regions occupied by the Russian Army that are Tabriz, Khoy, Salmas, Maragha to Nakhichevan, Yerevan and Karabakh” in 1828. Writer N. Shavrov also wrote "To date 1 million out of 1 million and 300 thousand Armenian people of Transcaucasia are not aboriginal inhabitants" in 1911.

The First World War also contributed to the increase in the number of Armenians in the South Caucasus. From 1828 to 1911 alone, more than 1,000,000 Armenians were resettled by Russia from Iran and Turkey in the region, including the Azerbaijani territories, and 350,000 Armenians appeared there in 1914-1916.

Within the Russian Empire, the territory once belonging to Azerbaijan, which includes inter alia the area presently covered by the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Republic of Armenia, was split under some legal regimes in different administrative divisions. According to the final administrative division, Azerbaijan was split among the Baku, Elizavetpol, and Iravan provinces, and Zagatala okrug. The Elizavetpol province included inter alia the area presently under Armenian military occupation.

Between 1905 and 1907, the Armenians carried out a series of large-scale bloody actions against the Azerbaijanis. The atrocities began in Baku and then extended over the whole of Azerbaijan, including Azerbaijani villages in the territory of present-day Armenia. Hundreds of settlements were destroyed and wiped from the face of the earth, and thousands of civilians were barbarically killed.

Taking advantage of the situation following the First World War and the February and October 1917 revolutions in Russia, the Armenians began to pursue the implementation of their plans under the banner of Bolshevism. Thus, under the watchword of combating counter-revolutionary elements, in March 1918, the Baku commune began to implement a plan aimed at eliminating the Azerbaijanis from the whole of the Baku province. Apart from Baku, solely because of their ethnic affiliation, thousands of Azerbaijanis were annihilated in the Shamakhy and Guba districts, as well as in Karabakh, Zangazur, Nakhchivan, Lankaran, and other regions of Azerbaijan. In these areas, the civilian population was exterminated en masse, villages were burned, and national cultural monuments were destroyed and obliterated.

On 28 May 1918, the Democratic Republic of Azerbaijan was proclaimed. The Republic of Armenia was established on the same day. Article 1 of the Declaration of Independence of the Democratic Republic of Azerbaijan provided that “starting from this day, the people of Azerbaijan will have their sovereign rights. Azerbaijan which consists of Eastern and Southern Transcaucasia, shall be a legal independent state”.

In 1918-1920, the Democratic Republic of Azerbaijan had diplomatic relations with some states. Agreements on the principles of mutual relations were signed with some of them; sixteen states established their missions in Baku.

In April 1919, the Allied Powers recognized the provisional General-Governorship of Karabakh, which was established by the Democratic Republic of Azerbaijan in January 1919 and included Shusha, Javanshir, Jabrayil, and Zangazur uyezds (uyezd – administrative-territorial unit of the Russian Empire, which was applied in the Democratic Republic of Azerbaijan and Azerbaijan SSR until the late 1920s) with the centre in Shusha town, to be under Azerbaijani jurisdiction, and Khosrov Bay Sultanov as its governor. In 1919, the Armenian National Assembly of Nagorno-Karabakh officially recognized the authority of Azerbaijan.

On 28 April 1920, the Democratic Republic of Azerbaijan was occupied by Soviet Russia, and the Azerbaijan SSR was established. In the Memorandum dated 24 November 1920, the Secretary-General of the League of Nations formulated the following two key issues which would have been

considered regarding the application submitted by Azerbaijan: "The territory of Azerbaijan having been originally part of the Empire of Russia, the question arises whether the declaration of the Republic in May 1918 and the recognition accorded by the Allied Powers in January 1920 suffice to constitute Azerbaijan de jure a 'full self-governing State' within the meaning of Article 1 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. The Fifth Committee of the Assembly of the League of Nations in its resolution on the application of Azerbaijan, decided that "it is not desirable, in the present circumstances, that Azerbaijan should be admitted to the League of Nations".

6.3.2:Future of the issue and beyond:

The present-day stage of the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan began at the end of 1987 with the attacks on the Azerbaijanis in Khankandi (during the Soviet period – Stepanakert), and Armenia resulted in a flood of Azerbaijani refugees and internally displaced persons.
On 20 February 1988, the representatives of the Armenian community at the session of the Soviet of People's Deputies of the NKAO adopted a resolution seeking the transfer of the NKAO from the Azerbaijan SSR to the Armenian SSR.
On 22 February 1988, near the settlement of Asgaran on the Khankandi-Aghdam highway, the Armenians opened fire on a peaceful demonstration by the Azerbaijanis protesting against the above-mentioned decision of the Soviet of People's Deputies of the NKAO. Two Azerbaijani youths lost their lives in consequence, becoming the first victims of the conflict.
On 26-28 February 1988, twenty-six Armenians and Azerbaijanis were killed as a result of the disturbances in Sumgait. Notably, one of the leading figures in these events was a certain Edward Grigorian, an Armenian and native of Sumgait, who was directly involved in the killings and violence against the Armenians and the pogroms in the Armenian neighbourhood By decision of the Criminal Division of the Supreme Court of the Azerbaijan SSR dated 22 December 1989, Grigorian was sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment. The Court found Grigorian to be one of the organizers of unrest and massacres. Depositions by witnesses and victims show that he had a list of flats inhabited by the Armenians and, together with three other Armenians, called for reprisals against the Armenians, in which he took part personally. His victims (all Armenians) identified Grigorian as one of the organizers and active figures in the violence. Events in Sumgait, being necessary to the Armenian leadership as a means of launching an extensive anti-Azerbaijani campaign and justifying the ensuing aggressive actions against Azerbaijan, had been planned and prepared in advance.
The events in Sumgait could also hardly be managed without outside powerful support. As The Times wrote, the KGB leadership tried "to weaken the Kremlin's authority and powerbase" and "organised acts of provocation, using genuine local dissatisfaction as a base, in cities across the Soviet Union, including Sumgait and Baku…"
Following the aforementioned petition of 20 February 1988, some other declarations and decisions were taken by both the Armenian SSR and the local Armenians of the NKAO with the view of securing the unilateral secession of Nagorno-Karabakh from Azerbaijan.
On the eve of the independence of Azerbaijan, the unlawfulness within the Soviet legal system of the attempted unilateral secession of Nagorno-Karabakh without Azerbaijan's consent, was confirmed at the highest constitutional level. Azerbaijan did not consent, so the definition of the territory of Azerbaijan, as it proceeded to independence, and in the light of the applicable law, included the territory of Nagorno-Karabakh. Azerbaijan was entitled to come to independence

within the territorial boundaries that it was recognized as having as the Azerbaijan SSR within the USSR.

6.3.3:The current situation in the occupied territories of Azerbaijan

It has been internationally recognized that Azerbaijani territories are under occupation and that Armenia has been actively involved in the creation and maintenance of that situation. The existence of an exclusive Armenian presence in the occupied territories is expressly recognized by the political organs of the United Nations, by the EU, the OSCE, the Council of Europe, and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, together with recognition by individual states. Accordingly, Armenia is an occupying power within the meaning of the relevant international legal provisions.

The critical period for the determination of the status of Armenia as an occupying power of Azerbaijani territory was the end of 1991, for this was the period during which the USSR disintegrated and the new successor states came into being, thus transforming an internal conflict between the two Union Republics into an international conflict.

Sources, including Armenian ones, report on tens of thousands of settlers who have moved into the occupied territories of Azerbaijan, including districts adjacent to the Nagorno-Karabakh region, such as Lachyn, Kalbajar, Zangilan, and Jabrayil. Facts testify that this is being done in an organized manner with the purpose of annexation of these territories. In 2000, "the resettlement program" was adopted, which envisages the increase of the population in the Nagorno-Karabakh region to 300,000 by the year 2010.

On 29 October 2004, the UN General Assembly decided to include the item entitled "The situation in the occupied territories of Azerbaijan" on the agenda of its 59th session. On 11 November 2004, a report on the transfer of population into the occupied territories of Azerbaijan was submitted to the UN General Assembly. The UN General Assembly's consideration of this agenda item played a crucial role in attracting attention to the issue of the illegal transfer of settlers into the occupied territories of Azerbaijan, as well as in initiating urgent measures for putting an end to this dangerous practice.

A visit to the occupied territories of the OSCE Fact-Finding Mission from 30 January–5 February 2005 became a logical result of Azerbaijan's initiative to raise the issue of the situation in its occupied territories before the UN General Assembly. The main outcome of the mission's activity was the report based on comprehensive facts, both provided by Azerbaijan and obtained during the study of the situation on the ground. The mission confirmed settlement in the occupied territories, thus underlining the concerns of Azerbaijan. In their turn, the OSCE Minsk Group Co-Chairmen, proceeding from the conclusions contained in the Mission's report, have emphasized the inadmissibility of changes in the demographic composition of the region and urged appropriate international agencies to conduct a needs assessment for resettlement of the population located in the occupied territories and return of the internally displaced persons to their places of permanent residence. The report and recommendations of the OSCE Minsk Group Co-Chairmen that were based on it laid down a solid basis for further consideration and resolution of the problem.

The issue of the situation in the occupied territories of Azerbaijan has also been included in the agenda of the subsequent sessions of the UN General Assembly.

On 7 September 2006, the UN General Assembly adopted resolution A/RES/60/285 entitled "The situation in the occupied territories of Azerbaijan" as proposed by Azerbaijan regarding the incidents of massive fires taking place in the occupied territories. The OSCE Fact-Finding Mission

carried out from 4 to 12 October 2006 assessed the short-term and long-term impact of the fires on the environment in the affected territories and confirmed inter alia that "the fires resulted in environmental and economic damages and threatened human health and security".
On 14 March 2008, the UN General Assembly adopted at its 62nd session resolution A/RES/62/243 on the situation in the occupied territories of Azerbaijan. Seriously concerned that the armed conflict in and around the Nagorny Karabakh region of the Republic of Azerbaijan continued to endanger international peace and security, the UN General Assembly reaffirmed its continued strong support for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Azerbaijan within its internationally recognized borders, demanding the immediate, complete and unconditional withdrawal of all Armenian forces from all occupied territories of the Republic of Azerbaijan. The General Assembly also reaffirmed that no state shall recognize as lawful the situation resulting from the occupation of the territories of the Republic of Azerbaijan, nor render aid or assistance in maintaining this situation.

Azerbaijan states that if Armenia approaches to make peace, Azerbaijan shall fulfil drastic measures in the direction of guaranteeing the highest level of the Armenian population's autonomy of Nagorno-Karabakh within Azerbaijan and will deal fairly with the Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomy. But firstly, the occupation has to be abandoned, and the return of the Azerbaijani population of Nagorno-Karabakh and the other 7 districts to their native lands has to be ensured.
To date, many meetings and discussions between Azerbaijan and Armenia have been conducted. Because of the Armenian insistence on a separatist point in claiming that Nagorno-Karabakh is Armenian land and neglecting the rights of the displaced Azerbaijani community of Nagorno-Karabakh, these negotiations are not able to reach any useful results. Azerbaijan's view is that Armenian occupation will never be accepted, and Azerbaijan keeps the right to the liberation of its lands from occupation based on resolutions adopted by the international community over time.[143]

6.4: Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus:

The Mediterranean Island of Cyprus has suffered a long history of foreign domination, violence, and civil strife. Since the 1950s, when it was still a colony of Britain, Cyprus became a region between two main ethnic/religious populations---Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. The Ottomans conquered the main Cyprus in the 19th century, and later, after World War I British Empire declared that Cyprus belonged to it. After the Ottomans, many Turks came to live in Cyprus. Cyprus turned into the home of the Greeks and Turks. When Greece gained independence from the Ottomans in 1830, Greece wanted to expand its territory and thus intended to expand to engulf Cyprus as well. During the British period in 1931, Greek Cypriots rioted against British rule and attacked the then-governor's house, demanding union with Greece. As a result of these riots and civil strife, an opinion poll was held where 96% of the Greek Cypriots declared to join with Greece, while the Turkish Cypriots wanted to join their motherland –Turkey. At that time, this was not the intention of the Empire to divide Cyprus. Greek Cypriots organized a revolt against the rule, and it was an armed struggle where they started attacking British citizens and Turks at the

[143] *Azerbaijan-Pakistan Relations*, Book published jointly by The Diplomatic Insight and Embassy of Azerbaijan in Pakistan, 2011.

same time. Three years later, we formed our resistance movement, which was meant only for self-defence. It was meant to resist the atrocities done by the Greek Cypriots against us.
In 1960, Britain decided to leave Cyprus, and later the Cyprus Republic was established. In the same year, the Republic collapsed after three years of its establishment, in 1963, when the Greek Cypriots launched an armed attack against the Turkish Cypriot co-founder partner and forcefully ousted it from all the organs of the common state. The main aim of the Greek Cypriots was to unite the island with mainland Greece. The Muslim Turkish Cypriot people did not accept and never bowed to this, organizing a resistance against the Greek and Greek Cypriot domination attempts. Turkish Cypriots, who were forced to leave their villages and houses and live in enclaves for security reasons, in time, established their administrative setup to run their day-to-day affairs. This situation lasted eleven years from 1963 to 1974, the year when the Military Junta comprising of Colonels in Greece staged a coup d'état in Cyprus on 15 July 1974 and toppled the Greek Cypriot Makarios Government, replacing him with the notorious anti-Turk and anti-Islam character Nicos Sampson as 'the president of Cyprus`. Sampson, on the same day, appeared on the state television and stated that from then on Cyprus had been United with its motherland, Greece... Sampson also said that it was now time to eliminate the whole population of Turkish Cypriots.

Turkish Cypriot people living under inhuman embargoes and restrictions for 11 years from 1963, were supported only by Turkey through Red Crescent aid, either as food, blankets, and tents. After the Greek coup, Turkey, as a Guarantor state of the 1960 Establishment Treaties, exercised its right and obligation and intervened to save the Turks of Cyprus from total annihilation and also to preserve the independence of the island. According to the international agreements, Cyprus as a whole or in part, could not be annexed to any other state... Since then, Cyprus has been divided into two parts. The blame is fully on the Greeks and Greek Cypriots who tried to unite the island with Greece's mainland. Turkey and Turkish Cypriots did not accept it and resisted it.

The national community has always remained an onlooker, and sometimes we feel that they have supported Greek Cypriots in one way or the other. Let me briefly explain it to you. Talks for reconciliation have been going on since 1968, under the auspices of the UN Secretary General. But the Greek Cypriots, who were wrongly recognized as the `legitimate Government of Cyprus` by the Security Council under the conditions of the Cold War era of those days, did not need a settlement. So, they never came near to an agreement. Turkish Cypriots could not wait for them forever. On 15 November 1983, Turkish Cypriots established their independent state, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.
While the negotiations were going on, the Greek Cypriots unilaterally applied for European Union membership. The Turkish Cypriot side said first we must reach a solution and later apply as a United Cyprus. But the Greek Cypriots did not accept it, because their application to EU membership was not for economic reasons, but to achieve their political goals in Cyprus through this membership... Greece was already an EU member at that time, and Greece blackmailed the EU, threatening `to block the enlargement if they did not accept South Cyprus as a member!
The negotiations are continuing under UN auspices, and in January 2012, a Summit will be held in New York. South Cyprus will take over the Presidency of the EU on the 1st of July 2012. So the target is to reach an end before that date. To reach a compromise, two sides are needed...The Turkish Cypriot side is the one that is really in need of a solution. TRNC is under inhuman restrictions and embargoes by the instigation of South Cyprus. From the international community, the TRNC is looking for a just and lasting solution which will enable the two peoples to live on

the island in peace and harmony without bothering each other. Political equality of the two sides should be respected. One should not try to dominate the other, as the Greek Cypriots have done to subjugate the Turkish Cypriot partner before.
Pakistan has always stood by us in every international forum where it can forward its voice, including the United Nations. We appreciate Pakistan's standpoint and its views on the issue. We are thankful to the brothers and sisters here in Pakistan as they feel for the people of TRNC and the quick and just solution to the conflict. [144]

6.5: Iraq and Iraq War:

Iraq borders Syria to the northwest, Turkey to the north, Iran to the east, Jordan to the southwest, and Kuwait and Saudi Arabia to the south. Iraq has a narrow section of coastline measuring 58 km on the northern Persian Gulf. The capital city, Baghdad, is in the center-east of the country. Historically, Iraq was the centre of the Abbasid Arabic Islamic Empire. Iraq has been known to the West by the Greek toponymal 'Mesopotamia' (Land between the rivers) and has been home to continuous successive civilizations since the 6th millennium BC. The region between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers is often referred to as the cradle of civilization and the birthplace of writing, law, and the wheel. At different periods in its history, Iraq was the centre of the indigenous Akkadian, Sumerian, Assyrian, Babylonian-Chaldean, and Abbasid empires.
Iraq's modern borders were demarcated in 1920 by the League of Nations when the Ottoman Empire was divided by the Treaty of Sèvres. Iraq was placed under the authority of the United Kingdom as the British Mandate of Mesopotamia. A monarchy was established in 1921, and the Kingdom of Iraq gained independence from Britain in 1932. In 1958, the monarchy was overthrown and the Republic of Iraq was created. Iraq was controlled by the Ba'ath Party (Iraqi-led faction) from 1968 until 2003. After an invasion led by American and British forces, the Ba'ath Party was removed from power and Iraq came under a military occupation by a multinational coalition. Sovereignty was transferred to the Iraqi Interim Government in June 2004. A new constitution was then approved by referendum, and a new Government of Iraq was elected. Foreign troops remained in Iraq after the establishment of a new government due to an insurgency that developed shortly after the invasion, with violence peaking in mid-2007. In August 2010, the U.S. became the last member of the coalition to cease combat operations in Iraq, bringing an end to the Iraq War, and over one year later, in December 2011, the last U.S. troops left the country.[145]
The Iraq War, or the War in Iraq, was a conflict that occurred in Iraq from March 20, 2003[146] to December 15, 2011,[147] Though sectarian violence continues and has caused hundreds of fatalities. Proceeding to the war, the governments of the United States and the United Kingdom claimed that Iraq's alleged control of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) posed a threat to US security and

[144] Text of interview of Ambassador of Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus in Pakistan, *The Diplomatic Insight,* February 2012.
[145] "Deadly Iraq war ends with exit of last U.S. troops," accessed 21 June,2011, http://edition.cnn.com/2011/12/17/world/meast/iraq-troops-leave/index.html
[146] "A chronology of the six-week invasion of Iraq, drawn from the FRONTLINE documentary", February 26, 2004, accessed 21 June, 2012, http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/invasion/cron/
[147]Tom Vanden Brook, "U.S. formally declares end of Iraq War", accessed 21 June, 2011, http://www.usatoday.com/news/world/iraq/story/2011-12-15/Iraq-war/51945028/1

that of their coalition/regional allies.[148]In 2002, the United Nations Security Council passed Resolution 1441, which called for Iraq to completely cooperate with UN weapons inspectors to verify that Iraq did not have WMD and cruise missiles. The United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC) found no evidence of WMD, but could not verify the accuracy of Iraq's declarations regarding what weapons it possessed.[149] Lead weapons inspector Hans Blix advised the UN Security Council that while Iraq was cooperating in terms of access, Iraq's declarations to WMD still could not be verified.

Following the investigation after the attack, the U.S.-led Iraq Survey Group finalized a report in which they concluded that Iraq had ended its nuclear, chemical, and biological programs in 1991 and had no active programs at the time of the invasion, but that they intended to resume production if the Iraq sanctions were lifted. [150]Although some degraded remnants of misplaced or abandoned chemical weapons from before 1991 were found, they were not the weapons that had been one of the main arguments for the invasion. [151]

Some US officials also accused Iraqi President Saddam Hussein of harbouring and supporting al-Qaeda,[152] but no evidence of a meaningful connection was ever found. Other motivations for the invasion included Iraq's monetary support for the families of Palestinian suicide bombers,[153]Iraqi government human rights abuses, and an effort to spread democracy to the country.

The invasion of Iraq led to an occupation and the eventual capture of President Hussein, who was later tried in an Iraqi court of law and executed by the new Iraqi government. Violence against coalition forces and among various sectarian groups soon led to the Iraqi insurgency, strife between many Sunni and Shia Iraqi groups, and the emergence of a new faction of Al-Qaeda in Iraq.

In June 2008, U.S. Department of Defense officials claimed security and economic indicators began to show signs of improvement in what they hailed as important and delicate gains. Iraq was

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[148] Senator Bill Nelson "New Information on Iraq's Possession of Weapons of Mass Destruction", Congressional Record, (January 28, 2004), accessed June 21,2012, http://www.fas.org/irp/congress/2004_cr/s012804b.htm l, (March 5, 2002), "PM statement on Iraq following UN Security Council resolution, " Number 10 Downing Street, accessed June 21,2012, http://www.number10.gov.uk/Page3206, Center for American Progress "In Their Own Words: Iraq's 'Imminent' Threat" (January 29, 2004), accessed June 21, 2012, http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/kfiles/b24970.html

[149] H. Blix, "Transcript of Blix's U.N. presentation" (March 7, 2003), http://articles.cnn.com/2003-03-07/us/sprj.irq.un.transcript.blix_1_inspection-effort-unmovic-unscom?_s=PM:US, accessed June 21,2012, Seymour M. Hersh, Selective Intelligence, May 5, 2003, http://www.newyorker.com/archive/2003/05/12/030512fa_fact, accessed June 21, 2012, "Official's Key Report On Iraq Is Faulted", *Washington Post*, February 7,2007, http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/02/08/AR2007020802387.html, U.S. Senate Intelligence Community (June 2008), http://intelligence.senate.gov/press/record.cfm?id=298775, accessed June 21, 2012.

[150] "Iraq Survey Group Final Report: Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD)", http://www.globalsecurity.org/wmd/library/report/2004/isg-final-report/isg-final-report_vol1_rsi-06.htm, accessed June 21, 2012.

[151] Katharine Shrader , "New Intel Report Reignites Iraq Arms Fight", Washington Post, June 22, 2006, http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/06/22/AR2006062201475.html, accessed June 21,2012.

[152] Stephen F. Hayes, "Saddam's al Qaeda Connection", SEP 1, 2003, Vol 8, no. 48, http://www.weeklystandard.com/Content/Public/Articles/000/000/003/033jgqyi.asp, accessed June 21, 2012.

[153] CNN, "White House spells out case against Iraq,"(September 12, 2002), http://articles.cnn.com/2002-09-12/us/iraq.report_1_weapons-inspectors-unscom-resolutions?_s=PM:US

fifth on the 2008 Failed States Index, and sixth on the 2009 list.[154] As public opinion favouring troop withdrawals increased and as Iraqi forces began to take responsibility for security, member nations of the Coalition withdrew their forces. In late 2008, the U.S. and Iraqi governments approved a Status of Forces Agreement effective through January 1, 2012.[155] The Iraqi Parliament also ratified a Strategic Framework Agreement with the U.S. aimed at ensuring cooperation in constitutional rights, threat deterrence, education,[156] Energy development, and other areas. [157]
In late February 2009, newly elected U.S. President Barack Obama proclaimed an 18-month withdrawal window for combat forces, with approximately 50,000 troops remaining in the country "to advise and train Iraqi security forces and to provide intelligence and surveillance".[158] General Ray Odierno, the top U.S. military commander in Iraq, said he believes all U.S. troops will be out of the country by the end of 2011,[159] while UK forces ended combat operations on April 30, 2009. [160] Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki has said he supports the accelerated pullout of U.S. forces. [161] In a speech at the Oval Office on 31 August 2010 Obama declared "The American combat mission in Iraq has ended. Operation Iraqi Freedom is over, and the Iraqi people now have lead responsibility for the security of their country."[162] On September 1, 2010, the American operational name for its involvement in Iraq changed from "Operation Iraqi Freedom" to "Operation New Dawn." The remaining 50,000 U.S. troops were designated as "advise and assist brigades" assigned to non-combat operations while retaining the ability to revert to combat operations as necessary. Two combat aviation brigades also remain in Iraq.[163] In November/December 2010, Parliament reconvened after a long delay, and re-appointed Jalal Talabani as president and Nouri al-Maliki as prime minister. A new government includes all major factions. [164] In early 2011, Radical Shia cleric Moqtada Sadr returned after four years of self-imposed exile in Iran while Oil exports from Iraqi Kurdistan resumed amid a lengthy dispute between the region and the central government over contracts with foreign firms. In April 2011 Army raided a camp of Iranian exiles, killing 34. The government says it will shut down Camp Ashraf, home to thousands of members of the People's Mujahedin of Iran. In August 2011, Violence escalated with more than 40 coordinated

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[154] Failed States Index, 2009, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2009/06/22/2009_failed_states_index_interactive_map_and_rankings
[155] Steven Thomma, "Obama to extend Iraq withdrawal timetable; 50,000 troops to remain, "*McClatchy Newspapers*.(February 27, 2009), http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iraq_War#cite_note-73
[156] English Language Teaching and Learning Program (US State Dept.),http://exchanges.state.gov/englishteaching/
[157] J. Karadsheh, "Iraq parliament OKs pact on U.S. troops' future" , CNN, (November 27, 2008), http://articles.cnn.com/2008-11-27/world/iraq.main_1_iraqi-lawmakers-bilateral-pact-security-pact?_s=PM:WORLD
[158]Steven Thomma, "Obama to extend Iraq withdrawal timetable; 50,000 troops to remain, " McClatchy Newspapers, (February 27, 2009). http://www.mcclatchydc.com/2009/02/27/62930/obama-to-extend-iraq-withdrawal.html
[159] Martina Stewart "General: U.S. should be out of Iraq by late 2011". Cnn.com, (2009-04-12), http://articles.cnn.com/2009-04-12/world/iraq.us.troops_1_odierno-al-rubaie-iraqi-governments?_s=PM:WORLD
[160] "UK Iraq combat operations to end". *BBC News,* April 30, 2009, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/8026136.stm
[161]" Iraq welcomes faster US withdrawal reports", *Almotamar,* 25 February 2009, http://www.almotamar.net/en/5933.htm
[162] Ibid,.
[163] Andrew Moran, " Iraq War Renamed 'Operation New Dawn," *DigitalJournal.com,* 22 February, 2010 http://www.redicecreations.com/article.php?id=9958
[164] " Iraq Profile", http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-14546763

nationwide attacks in one day.[165] On December 15, 2011, U.S. Defense Secretary Leon Panetta officially declared the Iraq War over at a flag-lowering ceremony in Baghdad. [166]The last U.S. troops left Iraqi territory on December 18, 2011.

Assessment Questions:

- What is the major incident that led to the setting up of the conflict in Palestine? Explain.
- What are the various steps that have been taken over the years to resolve the Israel-Palestine conflict?
- Can you trace out from the newspaper about the latest developments happening in the conflict between Israel and Palestine?
- What is the composite dialogue process?
- Describe briefly the various issues on the agenda of the dialogue.
- Trace in the newspaper the latest developments on Kashmir and between Pakistan and India.
- Write a note on the historical background of the Iraq War?
- Why has the United States invaded Iraq?
- Where is Nargono-Karabakh? Write a brief note on the issue.
- Write notes on the conflict in Northern Cyprus.

Suggested Readings

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[165] Ibid,.

[166] David Sirota, "AP Tells Its Reporters to Avoid Saying the Iraq War Is Over," *Huffingtonpost.com*, 7 November, 2010, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/david-sirota/ap-tells-its-reporters-to_b_707508.html

Unit 7

Pak-Afghan Relations and Issues

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Introduction

Pakistan and Afghanistan share deep-rooted historical, cultural, and religious links for many centuries, even before the inception of Pakistan. Because of the long border that Pakistan and Afghanistan share, both countries are often called twin brothers. However, throughout the relations, we have observed chilliness in relations. Afghanistan was the first Muslim country that oppose Pakistan's membership in the United Nations. This Unit is designed in such a way to understand through historical facts the contemporary nature of relations between both countries. In a phase-wise approach, the events have been narrated to make a sequence of understanding.

Objectives

After reading this unit, you will be able to:

- Know more about Pakistan and Afghanistan relations
- Know and understand the reasons behind the nature of relations between the two countries
- Know more about the contemporary politics of the region.

7.1: Introduction:

Pakistan and Afghanistan share deep-rooted historical, cultural, and religious links for many centuries, even before the inception of Pakistan. Geographic contiguity, shared faith, and mutual interests are the main factors driving Pakistan's approach towards Afghanistan. [167]However, the relations have not been on a solid footing as they should be because of many commonalities and shared borders. Pakistan succeeded in cherishing very cordial relations with every Muslim country, barring Afghanistan. In the case of Afghanistan, geographical location has acted more negatively than the binding role the Muslim faith was expected to play. In the case of Pak-Afghan relations, Lord Curzon's (former Viceroy of India) saying seems to be worth mentioning here: 'frontiers are indeed the razor's edge on which hang suspended the modern issues of war and peace, of life or death to nations' seems to be proving to be correct.[168] Due to Afghanistan's location, Pakistan has traditionally sought to retain a zone of influence, or buffer, which it has done historically with elements of the ethnic-Pashtun population. It would appear that such a policy was pursued to sustain Pakistan's internal security and stability. Similarly, Pakistan would also be looking to influence the Afghan government to ensure that it does not support any dissident elements that are detrimental to Pakistan's security.[169]

7.2: Since Independence in 1947 till 1963:

When Pakistan gained independence from the British Raj, Afghanistan was the first country that openly defied Pakistan at the UN and the only Muslim country that voted against Pakistan. The issue of the Durand line soured the relations since the beginning. The Durand Line[170] is the porous border between Pakistan and Afghanistan and is approximately 2,640 kilometres (1,640 mi) long. It was formed after the 1893 agreement of non-interference between British India and the Afghan Amir Abdur Rahman Khan for fixing the limit.[171] It is named after Henry Mortimer Durand, the Foreign Secretary of British India at the time. His was also the time of the "great game"—the geopolitical struggle between the British and the Russian empires. The British held the Indian subcontinent, while the Russians held the Central Asian lands to the north. Their spheres of influence overlapped in Afghanistan. Britain, concerned about Russian expansion, invaded Afghanistan in 1839 and fought the First Anglo-Afghan War. This led to a decade of machinations between the British and the Russians and two more bloody wars, at the end of which, in 1919,

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[167] Babar Shah, "Pakistan's Afghanistan Policy: An evaluation", Vol. XX Spring/Summer No. 2/3, Strategic Studies, A quarterly Journal of Institute of Strategic Studies, http://www.issi.org.pk/strategic_studies_html, 2000

[168] Dr. Rifath Hussain, "Pakistan's Relation with Afghanistan: Continuity and Change," http://www.issi.org.pk/jornal/2002_files/no_4/articale/3a.html

[169] Sergei DeSilva-Ranasinghe, "Pakistan's Strategic and Foreign Policy Objectives", 5 May, 2011, htttp://www.futuredirections.org.au/publications/indian-ocean/16-pakistans-strategic-and-foreign-policy-objectives.html

[170] Jayshree Bajoria, "The Troubled Afghan-Pakistani Border", Council on Foreign Relations, March 20, 2009 : http://www.cfr.org/pakistan/troubled-afghan-pakistani-border/p14905; Qaeem Ahmed Shayeq, Pak Afghan Relations: The Durand Line issue, Policy Perspectives Vol. 5, 2008, Number 2, Special issue Afghanistan, Institute of Policy Studies, Islamabad.

[171] S.M.Burke and Lawrence Ziring, 2nd ed, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy: An Historical Analysis,* (Karachi: Oxford Press, 1990) 68-69.

Afghanistan won its independence. [172]As a result of the presence of the majority in Afghanistan and the resultant division, Pashtuns always wanted to be United. Afghanistan, being the Pashtoon-dominated state, aspired to continue its desire to create a greater "Pashtunistan in the region. [173] The ongoing border frictions are due in large part to tribal allegiances that have never recognized the century-old frontier. Forty percent of Afghanistan's population is made up of Pashtuns; in Pakistan, Pashtuns represent 15 percent to 20 percent of the country's population. Ethnic Balochis also live on both sides of the Afghan-Pakistani border as well as in neighbouring Iran. "People on both sides of the Durand line consider it a soft border," Husain Haqqani, Pakistan's ambassador to Washington, told CFR.org in 2007 (he was then the director of Boston University's Center for International Relations). He adds: "Pashtuns consider it their land even though there is also a loyalty to the respective states along with a desire to freely move back and forth."[174] Afghanistan withdrew its objection after only a month and became one of the first nations to establish diplomatic relations with Pakistan. The Pashtun nationalist Khudai Khidmatgars moderated their standpoint and then soon after also reflected their loyalty to the new state of Pakistan. Some tribal leaders in Federally Administrated Tribal Areas(FATA) maintained militias in the name of Pushtunistan. Successive governments in Pakistan tried to handle the Pashtun nationalists' claims by suppressing their advocates.

Pakistan then ended the British policy of military control of tribal areas, withdrawing army units from the agencies. Soon, Pakistan was able to mobilize a sizable Pashtun tribal posse from both sides of the Durand Line to fight for Kashmir, a Muslim-majority state, when its maharaja declared accession to India in 1947. Although the tribal members made a spectacular march, they failed to capture Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir.

In June 1949 Afghan parliament cancelled all treaties which former Afghan governments had signed with the British, including the Durand Treaty, and thus proclaimed that the Afghan government does not recognize the Durand Line as a legal boundary between Afghanistan and Pakistan. On January 4, 1950, the Afghanistan government signed a treaty of friendship with India. The treaty provides that each signatory should be able to establish trade agencies in the other's territory. It will last for five years in the first instance, and at the end of that period, it will be terminable at six months' notice.[175] During this period, rivalry and bitterness continued to haunt Pakistan and Afghanistan. Afghanistan not only turned towards India for friendship but also asked for military aid from the Soviet Union because its position on Pashtunistan made it impossible to receive aid from the United States, which in those days was allied with Pakistan. [176] The demand for a Pashtunistan meant not only an independent country but also a separate province in Pakistan as well. The Soviet Union and India supported the idea for decades. The Pashtunistan demand served domestic Afghan political purposes as well. In the twentieth century, successive Afghan rulers continued using their Pashtun card to get support for the state. This successive use of the card led to divergence and conflict between Pashtuns and Non-Pashtuns, which later on turned into a fierce rivalry between the Taliban and Northern Alliance within Afghanistan.

To reconcile and develop prospects for friendly relations, Pakistan's president, Iskandar Mirza, visited Afghanistan in August 1956, and Hussain Shaheed Suharwardy Prime Minister of Pakistan,

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[172] Jayshree Bajoria, The Troubled Afghan-Pakistani Border,

[173] Hameed A.K.Rai, , *Pakistan's Foreign Policy*, (Lahore: Aziz Publishers,1981), 35.

[174] Jayshree Bajoria, "The Troubled Afghan-Pakistani Border, "

[175] http://www.paklinks.com/gs/pakistan-affairs/162348-afghanistan-and-pakistan-relations-the-timeline.html

[176]Barnett R. Rubin and Abubakar Siddique, "Resolving the Pakistan- Afghanistan Stalemate", Special Report, USIP, October 2006, http://www.usip.org/publications/resolving-pakistan-afghanistan-stalemate

toured Afghanistan in 1957. These visits were reciprocated by Afghan ruler King Zahir Shah in 1958 and Prime Minister Sardar Daud Khan in 1959. [177]These visits helped cultivate an attitude of reconciliation on both sides. Sikandar Mirza and Daud agreed to relegate political issues to the lower. During the decade of the 50s, General Mohammed Daud became prime minister. He turned to the Soviet Union for economic and military assistance. General Daud was invited by India to address its parliament. On the other hand, in Pakistan, the 1958 coup brought General Mohammad Ayub Khan to power, who failed to bring any immediate change in the dispute with Afghanistan over the creation of a Pushtun state in the North-West Frontier region of Pakistan. During this time, the Soviets began to penetrate deeper into Afghanistan, where they were developing road infrastructures in a way to have strategic leverage, while the US was wary of the idea of Pakistan not having cordial relations with Afghanistan.[178] The U-2 incident prompted the Soviets to penetrate further into Afghanistan and threaten Pakistan with serious consequences[179]

In 1960, the prime minister of Afghanistan, Mohammad Daoud Khan, sent troops across the border into Bajaur (Pakistan) in a foolhardy, unsuccessful attempt to manipulate events in that area and to press the Pashtunistan [Pakhtunistan] issue, but Afghan military forces were routed by the Pakistan military. [180]In 1961, relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan became sour as Pakistan closed the border between the countries, and both broke off their diplomatic relations. Traffic between the two countries came to a halt, just as two of Afghanistan's major export crops, grapes and pomegranates, were ready to be shipped to India. In a valuable public relations gesture, the Soviet Union offered to buy the crops and airlift them from Afghanistan. What the Soviets did not ship, Ariana Afghan Airlines flew to India in 1961 and 1962. At the same time, the United States attempted to mediate the dispute, although its ties with Pakistan were a stumbling block.[181]

7.3: Detent in Pak- Afghanistan Relations (1963-73)[182]

The new standoff effectively cut landlocked Afghanistan off from most of the world, leaving it dependent on transportation links with the Soviet Union, and extremely limited access through Iran and with India through air. The break with Pakistan accelerated the adverse trends in Afghanistan's economy and political system. America, stressing its concerns about growing Soviet influence in Kabul, maneuvered to manage the crisis by offering U.S. good offices to both countries.[183] In a bid to reduce Afghan dependence on the Soviets, America offered to finance the extension of railway lines from Pakistan into Afghanistan and urged the temporary reopening of Afghan trade offices. Pakistan agreed to a cross-border rail link near Quetta but
denied the one near Peshawar. The reluctant Pakistan, finally succumbing under American pressure in September 1962, agreed "rather reluctantly" to consider allowing the Afghan "tentacles" across the border and a meeting between Pakistani and Afghan foreign ministers in

[177]Mohib Ullah Durani, Ashraf Khan, " Pakistan - Afghan Relations: Historic Mirror," *The Dialogue*, 32 Volume IV Number 1
http://www.qurtuba.edu.pk/thedialogue/The%20Dialogue/4_1/02_ashraf.pdf
[178] Dennis Kux, *The United States and Pakistan 1947-2000 Disenchanted Allies,* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001), 109.
[179] Ibid.,124.
[180]" Afghanistan-Pakistan Relations Timeline," http://www.paklinks.com/gs/pakistan-affairs/162348-afghanistan-and-pakistan-relations-the-timeline.html
[181] "Armed Conflict Events Data: Pushtunistan Crisis 1960-196,
"http://www.onwar.com/aced/data/alpha/afghanpakist1961.htm
[182] Mohib Ullah Durani, Ashraf Khan, " Pakistan - Afghan Relations: Historic Mirror,"
[183] Ibid,.

New York. [184] However, the credit for successful mediation goes to Iran, which managed to reconcile both countries on the Tehran Accord of 1963.

By 1963, it became clear that neither Daoud of Afghanistan nor Ayub Khan of Pakistan would yield; to settle the issue, one of them would have to be removed from power. Despite growing criticism of Ayub among some of his countrymen, his position was generally strong, whereas Afghanistan's economy was suffering. In March 1963, with the backing of the royal family, King Zahir Shah sought Daoud's resignation, and Muhammad Yousuf, a non-Pashtun, German-educated technocrat who had been minister of mines and industries, became prime minister.[185] The end of the decade witnessed a lessening of the historic friction between the two states, and developed further with an increase in trade. In 1969, the Prime Minister of India also paid a visit to Afghanistan.

7.4:Reversal of Rapprochement (1973-1978)[186]

At the beginning of the decade of the 70s, Afghanistan faced a serious threat of drought and food shortage. Large numbers of people cross into Pakistan and Iran in search of food. The response, especially from Pakistan and Iran, is generous. The government undertakes a massive campaign of relief operations to deal with the emergency, but is hampered by the traditionally independent attitude of remote outlying areas. The year 1972 brings little relief, and the flow of people into Pakistan and Iran in quest of food continues. Both these countries again respond generously to the government's appeal for external assistance, and later in the year, UN agencies give substantial help. [187]After ten years of constitutional monarchy with a contentious but ineffective parliament that dissolved the government three times, Daud launched a bloodless coup against his cousin, Zahir Shah. He justified it in part by claiming that Zahir's government had neglected Pashtunistan to improve relations with the United States and Pakistan[188]. Zahir Shah formally abdicated on August 24 and remains in exile in Europe. Accessions continued from the Afghan side of Pakistan behind the plot to overthrow the new regime. Tension persisted between the two sides. During this time, an important visit by President Daud to Moscow reflected Afghanistan's growing Soviet tilt. With Pakistan, his relations are difficult; he continues to support schemes for the creation of an independent Pakhtunistan and a new "Greater Baluchistan" that, if realized, would give Afghanistan a corridor through friendly territory to the coast of the Arabian Sea. Anti-Pakistan element and their support received from Afghanistan turned the relations from salty to sour. The resumption of power by Mohammed Daoud, in which pro-Soviet, leftist officers of the Afghan armed forces played an important role, was perceived in Islamabad as a negative development. Pakistan, in spite of these tensions, always put forward its support for the natural clematis that occurred during this decade. In 1976, Prime Minister Bhutto visited Kabul to discuss the principles of respect for territorial integrity with other. Bhutto was given an unprecedented warm welcome in Kabul in June 1976, and Daud was given a red carpet reception in his reciprocal visit to Islamabad in August same year. These reconciliatory visits helped revive trust, defuse tension, resolve peaceful coexistence, and find the peaceful settlement of disputes.[189] However, the process of rapprochement was once again derailed as the window of opportunity was closed with the

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[184]Dennis Kux, *The United States and Pakistan 1947-2000 Disenchanted Allies,* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001), 109 88

[185] Ibid,.

[186] Mohib Ullah Durani, Ashraf Khan, " Pakistan - Afghan Relations: Historic Mirror,"

[187] "Afghanistan-Pakistan Relations Timeline,"

[188] Barnett R. Rubin and Abubakar Siddique, "Resolving the Pakistan- Afghanistan Stalemate, "

[189] Mohib Ullah Durani, Ashraf Khan, " Pakistan - Afghan Relations: Historic Mirror",

overthrow of the Bhutto government in Pakistan in July 1977, and the elimination of Daud by communist forces in April 1978.[190] Kabul was taken over by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), designating Noor Mohammed Taraki as President, Hafiz Ullah Amin as Prime Minister, and Babrak Karmal as Deputy Prime Minister. The country was renamed the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan (DRA).

7.5: Soviet Invasion till End of Cold War 1979-1990:

Hafiz Ullah Amin was overthrown and killed in a coup backed by Soviet troops. At year's end, reports from Kabul indicate that some 40,000 Soviet troops were fanning out through the country in an apparent attempt to crush the Muslim rebels. As a result of this war, Pakistan became one of the world's largest hosts of refugees in its territory. According to UN statistics, 1.7 million Afghans were being forced to become refugees in Pakistan and some 400,000 to Iran to escape the strife in their country.

Moscow's takeover of Afghanistan deeply offended Zia's sense of Islamic brotherhood.[191] The invasion happened at a time when Pakistan and Afghanistan were at loggerheads, the Iranian revolution, the Baloch insurgency was on the rise, and there was political uncertainty within Pakistan. General Zia ul Haq, with support from the US and Saudi Arabia, started supporting the Afghans and raised the Mujahideen who fought with the Soviets. At that time, huge amounts of money and arms were provided to these ("holy warriors") fighters to crush this invasion. Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) Directorate played a key role in this endeavour, and Pakistan also provided sanctuary for the mujahedin, mainly in the poor, sparsely populated and mountainous Pashtun tribal areas along the Afghan border, where it had continued the British practice of maintaining little presence on the ground. [192] The Ronald Regan administration issued aid of almost $ 3.2 billion five-year proposal which was channelled through ISI and used for the Afghan war.

After the Soviet defeat and withdrawal from the country, the United States and the rest of the international community essentially forgot about Afghanistan. Pakistan, however, could not do so. The Soviet invasion had led to the first of a series of waves of Afghan refugees into Pakistan. The civil war that quickly broke out among various mujahedin factions soon threatened to leave the country in the hands of "Northern Alliance" forces allied with Russia, India, and Iran. Pakistan, therefore, assisted the emerging Taliban movement, which, after several years of expanding its territory beyond its base in Kandahar, finally occupied the capital, Kabul, in the fall of 1996; however, the Taliban never succeeded in controlling the northern Panjshir Valley held by Northern Alliance leader Ahmed Shah Massoud. In May 1997, Pakistan became the first country to grant diplomatic recognition to the Taliban and was followed by Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates.[193] In the year 1988, Peace talks were held in Geneva, with the support of the UN. There were three main areas of discussion regarding Afghanistan's security, the return of refugees, and the withdrawal of Soviet Troops. The Soviets then left Afghanistan in 1990 and completed the

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[190] Peter Calvocoressi, *World Politics, 1045-2000*, (Delhi, Paerson Education, 2001),571.

[191] Dennis Kux, *The United States and Pakistan, 1947-2000: Disenchanted Allies* (Baltimore: John Hopkins, 2000) 245.

[192] James Lee, "Afghanistan: The Challenge of Relations with Pakistan", 7 January 2008, Political and Social Affairs Division, http://www.parl.gc.ca/content/LOP/ResearchPublications/prb0733-e.htm#source9, See Steve Coll, *Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan and bin Laden, from the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001,* (The Penguin Press, New York, 2004)

[193] Ibid,.

withdrawal of the troops in 1991. Soviet troops left behind the necessary war equipment that was used by the escorts of Dr. Najeeb Ullah. The US stopped its support immediately, and thus a vacuum was created, which led to fierce fighting and civil war as a result of the power game. The disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991 also triggered the collapse of Najeeb Ullah in April 1992 and the setting up of Sibghatullah Mojadedi's broad-based Interim Government. Chaos, anarchy, and acute mismanagement all around Afghanistan depicted the country as a failed state like Somalia, Rwanda, and Burundi.[194]

The situation was made worse as international actors and neighbours of Afghanistan tucked themselves in supporting opposing sides, thus leading to disastrous consequences for Afghanistan, the region, and the rest of the world. We have observed this while witnessing the events of September 11 and afterwards.

7.6:Emergence of Taliban and Pakistan:

Taliban's emergence in mid-1994 is perhaps the most important development in post-Soviet Afghanistan. Nothing can be said for sure about the origins; nevertheless, there are two widely held propositions about their sudden appearance on the scene. One view considers them as an indigenous development, a product of years of war and disillusionment, while the other opinion contends that they are the creation of Pakistan's ISI with the Saudi money and political backing of the USA. The reality lies, as in most cases, somewhere between these two extremes.195 No matter what the circumstances of their birth, initially, Afghan people welcomed this respite from lawlessness and warlordism196 Prevailing in the state. Taliban vowed to disarm the warring factions and establish peace and the rule of law by implementing sharia in Afghanistan.

> Pakistan has raised, armed, and trained the Taliban to deliver the new " Silk Route" to Central Asia. The Taliban was instrumental in effecting a proxy conquest of Afghanistan and establishing a client regime there. The aim was to gain strategic depth against arch-rival India, corner the entire Central Asian trade and oil outflow, establish a bridgehead for the destabilization of Central Asia, and outflank and marginalize Iran altogether from Central Asian sweepstakes. This plan could exploit the low-intensity warfare skills of the Taliban to raise the ante in Kashmir. In short, Pakistan was in quest of a zero-sum game option in which it could win all at the cost of every one of its neighbouring states- India, Iran, Russia, Central Asian States, and even its ally China.[197]

The emergence of the Taliban on the political scene played a very significant role in Pakistan's policy pursuits for Central Asia. Pakistan was in no position to accept another enemy on its western borders. Thus, it always tried to help develop friendships with the governments in Afghanistan. The appearance of the Taliban movement, and the initial enthusiasm it received in southern and central Afghanistan as a force restoring law and order, presented Pakistan with a long-sought opportunity, and supporting it was logical given Pakistan's internal and external policy imperatives. Pakistan was among the few states in the world, including Saudi Arabia, that officially recognized the Taliban. [198]These said, later developments in Afghanistan have caused

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[194] Kamal Matinuddin, *The Taliban Phenomenon*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1999) 24

[195] For detailed discussion on the Taliban, their origin, and the prevailing politics. See the pioneer works of Rashid(2000), William Maley (ed)(1998)

[196] The warlord is a military leader, with a remoter or no commitment to a party or ideology and who rule over part of the country by force….

[197] Ahmad Rashid(2002)

[198] *Foreign Affairs*, May 1994.

worry in Islamabad as well. Far from being pliable, the Taliban regime has proven to be unruly and difficult to deal with. Although Pakistan undoubtedly remained the only power that could exert any influence over the Taliban, the image of it being a Pakistani stooge must be dismissed due to the independent attitude regarding the issue of handing over Bin Laden to the Washington Taliban displayed. Furthermore, the failure of the Taliban to exercise moderation in its handling of minority populations under its rule, its treatment of women and its ensuing international isolation proved detrimental to Pakistan's abilities to establish influence in Central Asia. Yet, from a geopolitical perspective, the situation for Afghanistan remained by far preferable to the alternative, the further instability of Afghanistan.

The Taliban's ties with Bin Laden and his Al-Qaeda terrorist network marked Afghanistan's transition from an 'accidental to a mature terrorist state'. Bin Laden quite skillfully and gradually transformed the Taliban-controlled Afghanistan into a truly rough entity whose only mission was to serve the cause of anti-American "Islamic Jihad"199 Pakistan's relations with the Taliban cost it friendly relations with neighbouring states like Iran and China. It had also mired its position on the Kashmir issue. The most pressing issue for Central Asia is the continuing civil war in Afghanistan and the Taliban's role in giving sanctuary to the IMU and other militant Islamic groups. The tragedy is that, like Russia and the US, CA's Muslim neighbours have fed this civil war, arming and funding one side or the other and drawing in the republics regardless of their desires. [200]

Pakistan, in support of the Taliban, faced certain challenges regarding the development of policy for Central Asia. It has lost confidence and suffered due to its support for the Taliban, which could be the cornerstone of the warm relations with Central Asian states, moreover. It tried to exercise a moderating influence on the Taliban, for at least three reasons: first, to ease the international ostracism of Afghanistan necessary to actively use that country as a conduit to Central Asia; second, in order to prevent the Taliban regime from losing its popular support and thereby risking a renewed plunge to instability in Afghanistan, third to help Afghanistan to establish itself in the international arena as a responsible state.[201]

7.7: 9/11 -Pakistan –Afghanistan Relations:

The war on terror left Pakistan with few foreign policy options for Pakistan i.e., either Pakistan is with the terrorists or with the international community in the policy for eradication of the menace of International terrorism. In the wake of new developments, all eyes were set on Pakistan, as the bordering country and the only state having some influence on the Taliban's militia, Islamabad's role was particularly critical in any international decisions regarding Afghanistan.

Pakistan's Afghan policy was in the doldrums, and the Musharaf regime had to take a U-turn in the policy as it could serve the best interest of the state at that moment; otherwise, we could have gone back to the Stone Age.[202] The decision to abandon the Taliban was considered a betrayal of Muslim brethren by the radical right. Pakistan wanted to neutralize India's underlined objective to this opportunity and drag the Kashmir struggle under the banner of terrorism.

In the context of the United States' war on terror, Central Asia has once again become the centre of geostrategic calculations. Pakistan's status has been upgraded by the U.S. government to a

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[199] Dr Riffat Hussain, *Pakistan's relations with Afghanistan: Continuity and Change, in The Anatomy of a conflict – Afghanistan and 9/1* (New Delhi: Lotus collection 2002), 190.

[200] Ibid, 208

[201] http://www.cornellcaspian.com/pub/0011centraleurasia.html

[202] See for detail on this issue Prvaiz Musharraf, *In the Line of Fire* (London: Simon & Schuster Ltd, 2006), 199-275

"major non-NATO ally" because of its central role in serving as a staging point for the invasion of Afghanistan, providing intelligence, and leading the hunt for Osama bin Laden. Afghanistan, which had served as a haven and source of support for Al-Qaeda, under the protection of Mullah Omar and the Taliban, was the target of a U.S. invasion in 2001. Now there is a strong aspiration on the global and regional levels for reconstruction and drug-eradication efforts in Afghanistan to make this region a hub of economic activity and peace.

In the context of the United States' war on terror, Afghanistan has once again become the centre of geostrategic calculations. Pakistan's status has been upgraded by the U.S. government to a "major non-NATO ally" because of its central role in serving as a staging point for the invasion of Afghanistan, providing intelligence, and leading the hunt for Osama bin Laden. Afghanistan, which had served as a haven and source of support for Al-Qaeda, under the protection of Mullah Omar and the Taliban, was the target of a U.S. invasion in 2001. Now there is a strong aspiration on the global and regional level for reconstruction and drug-eradication efforts in Afghanistan to make this region a hub of economic activity and peace. The transformation of both the reasons and nature of the conflict in Afghanistan led to increased polarization and further instability in a highly volatile region. The regional schism saw the emergence and consolidation of two camps, i.e., Pakistan and the Taliban vis-à-vis most of its neighbours, including Iran, Russia, India, and Uzbekistan. Pakistan's increased support to the Taliban was matched by the NA (Northern Alliance), which was being supported by Russia, Iran, India, and Uzbekistan. This proved counterproductive for Pakistan's grand design for Central Asia and emerged as a challenge after the fall of the Taliban, when the NA formed the government led by Hamid Karzai as a result of the Bonn accord in 2001.

The Karzai government has huge support from India. There are strong indicators that this time New Delhi intends to avoid putting all its eggs in one basket, as it did during the Soviet invasion and the Taliban era. In this context, the Northern Alliance is a favourite of the constellation of powers in Central Asia gravitating towards Moscow. But Pakistan has serious reservations about the Alliance because of its perceived anti-Pakistan, non-Pushtun, and pro-India disposition. An unstable Afghanistan would leave a space for outside actors to play a more explicit role in the Central Asian matrix than would have been desired from a Pakistani security perspective, and could indeed have been highly detrimental to Pakistani domestic security. Hence, the urge to have a stable Afghanistan has been crucial to Pakistan's foreign policy objectives.

7.8:Reemergence of Taliban- Aftershocks

The Taliban have fought back against the Afghan government and coalition forces with surprising intensity, strengthened by drug money and the ability to shelter in Pakistan.[203] The current phase of resurgence is the most intense since the defeat of the Taliban in 2001. No attention was paid by coalition forces and the Karzai government to the improvement of the law and order situation and reconstruction of areas on the eastern and southern sides of Afghanistan. The result was unemployment and frustration. This resulted in the resurgence of the Taliban with new strength and support from the border areas of Pakistan and Afghanistan. Many analysts say the Taliban's resurgence has been fuelled by record opium crops and growing frustration and anger at a lack of reconstruction, development, and jobs. This also includes the political will of the major powers in the construction of the road to prosperity. Afghanistan has become an international haven for terrorists.

[203] *Dawn*, November 10, 2006.

The Afghan Taliban has become stronger in recent years, especially after the fall of their regime in Kabul. To prevent the radicalization of its tribal belt, Pakistan has signed a Peace Pact with the Utmanzai tribe in North Waziristan. [204]The main objective of these peace pacts is to effectively minimize the support of the Taliban in Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and Balochistan. Regarding the financial support, it has been reported that drug trafficking and extortion might be a source of finance. At the domestic level, Pakistan is facing mild spillover effects of this current resurgence of the Taliban. The situation would have been much worse if Pakistani troops in the tribal areas along the border had not prevented al-Qaeda and Taliban fighters from crossing the porous border into Pakistan.

7.9:Recent Developments:

Pakistan has extended support to the Karzai government and has been cooperating in the reconstruction and capacity-building of institutions in Afghanistan since the renewal of bilateral relations in 2002. Pakistan has committed to providing $250 million for reconstruction in Afghanistan, and the volume of trade between the two countries is $1.2 billion. Meetings of the various joint forums, such as the Joint Economic Commission, Pak-Afghan-US Tripartite Commission for Border Security, and Tripartite Commission for Refugees Repatriation, are being held regularly. Various agreements and MoUs have been signed covering diverse fields such as culture, tourism, media cooperation, and combating organised crime and narcotics. A bus service between Peshawar and Jalalabad began in May 2006, and the Torkham-Jalalabad road was opened in September 2006.[205]

Moreover, Pakistan's security forces have been engaged in search operations against Al-Qaeda operatives in the Pakistan border region with Afghanistan. The Director General of ISPR, Major General Shaukat Sultan, confirmed in April 2006 that the Army, in its operations since July 2005 in North Waziristan, had killed 324 militants. According to a report by the Pakistan Institute of Peace Studies (PIPS) in May 2006, Pakistan's security agencies arrested more than 1,000 Al-Qaeda suspects between January 2002 and May 2006. The Pakistan government, in September 2006, signed a peace agreement with the tribal leaders in North Waziristan, whereby it was agreed that cross-border movement for militant activity in Afghanistan would be prevented. The Pakistani government has been criticised by some sections of society for the search operations in the tribal region. [206]

Despite all this goodwill, because Pakistan cooperates with the Taliban, and there still exists mistrust in the relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan. The government of Hamid Karzai continues its blame Pakistan for supporting Taliban and Al-Qaeda activists, and has been insisting that Pakistan should do more to counter terrorism in Afghanistan. President Musharraf, during his visit to Kabul on September 6-7, 2006, categorically stated that the Pakistani government is following a policy of "absolute non-interference" in Afghanistan. Moreover, NATO officials have also accused that militant infiltration into Afghanistan from Pakistan is continuing. An example is the statement made by NATO commander, General James Jones, on October 28 at the end of his visit to Afghanistan. On the other hand, Pakistan suspects Indian infiltration in the tribal region and Balochistan from the bordering areas of Afghanistan. These fears were conveyed by President

[204] *Dawn,* October, 2006.
[205] Ms. Fahmida Ashraf, " Dealing with the Neighbourhood: Pakistan's Regional Diplomacy" http://www.issi.org.pk/old-site/reports_Detail.php?dataId=152
[206] Ibid,.

Musharraf during his meeting with the Afghan President during his visit to Islamabad in February this year.[207]

In March 2009, US President Barack Obama unveiled a new strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan to combat an increasingly "perilous situation. The strategy has been named as " AFPAK Strategy"[208] Which created uproar in Pakistan, asking for not to join in and naming it like this. According to this policy, an extra 4,000 US personnel will train and bolster the Afghan army and police, and there will also be support for civilian development. In October 2010, the long-awaited Afghan-Pak Transit Trade Agreement (APTTA) between the two states was finally inked. The landmark agreement was signed by Pakistani Commerce Minister Makhdoom Amin Fahim and Anwar ul-Haq Ahady, Afghan Ministry of Commerce. The ceremony was attended by Richard Holbrooke, U.S. Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan, and foreign ambassadors, Afghan parliamentarians, and senior officials. [209]

Osama Bin Laden was killed by the operation of the NATO and allied forces as a result of the support from Afghanistan as a bases. [210] In the same year, Afghanistan and Pakistan border clashes increased as a result of the attacks on the Pakistani-based Haqqani network that took place across Afghanistan. This led to the United States warning Pakistan of a possible military action against the Haqqanis in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas.[211]

Assessment Questions:

- By following the current trends in Pakistan and Afghanistan relations, write briefly about the recent developments in relations.
- Why has Afghanistan opposed Pakistan's membership in the United Nations?
- Who are the Taliban? What are the reasons behind their emergence?
- Why Soviet Union invade Afghanistan?
- After the September 11 attacks, why has the United States attacked Afghanistan?
- Write a brief note on Pakistan and Afghanistan relations in the light of historical facts.

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[207] Ms. Fahmida Ashraf, " Dealing with the Neighbourhood: Pakistan's Regional Diplomacy"

[208] Quinion, Michael, "Afpak". 18 April, 2009, World Wide Words, http://www.worldwidewords.org/turnsofphrase/tp-afp1.htm, The term began to appear widely in newspapers in early February 2009, following a speech given by the US diplomat Richard Holbrooke, then recently appointed as US special envoy to the region, to a security conference in Munich on 8 February. He said:
First of all, we often call the problem AfPak, as in Afghanistan Pakistan. This is not just an effort to save eight syllables. It is an attempt to indicate and imprint in our DNA the fact that there is one theater of war, straddling an ill-defined border, the Durand Line, and that on the western side of that border, NATO and other forces are able to operate. On the eastern side, it's the sovereign territory of Pakistan. But it is on the eastern side of this ill-defined border that the international terrorist movement is located.(Hampton Roads International Security Quarterly, 22 Mar. 2009)

[209] Fazal Muzhary, "Landmark trade pact inked with Pakistan," Kabul, Afghanistan: Pajhwok Afghan News (PAN), October 28, 2010, http://www.pajhwok.com/en/2010/10/28/landmark-trade-pact-inked-pakistan

[210] Philip Sherwell, "Osama bin Laden killed: Behind the scenes of the deadly raid, " *The Daily Telegraph (London),* May 7,2011, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/al-qaeda/8500431/Osama-bin-Laden-killed-Behind-the-scenes-of-the-deadly-raid.html

[211] "Panetta: U.S. will pursue Pakistan-based militants," *USA Today*, September 2011, http://www.usatoday.com/news/washington/story/2011-09-15/panetta-pakistan/50410770/1?csp=34news

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- Steve Coll, *Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan and bin Laden, from the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001,* (The Penguin Press, New York, 2004)
- Kamal Matinuddin, *The Taliban Phenomenon,* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1999) 24
- Peter Calvocoressi, *World Politics, 1045-2000,* (Delhi, Pearson Education, 2001),571
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- Prvaiz Musharraf, *In the Line of Fire* (London: Simon & Schuster Ltd, 2006).
- Barnett R. Rubin and Ahmed Rashid, From Great Game to Grand Bargain, Ending Chaos in Afghanistan and Pakistan Foreign Affairs, November/December 2008 http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/64604/barnett-r-rubin-and-ahmed-rashid/from-great-game-to-grand-bargain
- Ahmed Rashid, *The Resurgence of Central Asia: Islam or Nationalism?,* (New York: St. Martin's Press, May 1994),
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- Ahmed Rashid, *Jihad: The Rise of Militant Islam in Central Asia,* (Yale University Press, 2002)
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Unit 8

Pakistan and Region and World Bodies

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Introduction:

International Organisations are established to cooperate on specific matters. For example first organization that was established to cooperate was the International Telecommunication Union, which was founded in 1865 as the International Telegraph Union and the Universal Postal Union was established in 1874. The Penguin Dictionary of International Relations divides modern international organizations into two "basic types, the 'public' variety known as intergovernmental organisations (IGOs) and the 'private' variety, the international non-governmental organization (INGOs)." [212] Examples of IGOs are the United Nations(UN), European Union(EU), World Trade Organisation(WTO), Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe(OSCE), etc. Examples of INGOs are PEPSI, Coca-Cola Company, Toyota, International Committee of the Red Cross, Médecins Sans Frontières, etc. In this unit, we will be discussing various organisations and the role of Pakistan in these organisations.

Objectives:

After reading this unit, you will be able to:

- Enhance your knowledge about various International bodies
- Analyze the role of these bodies in the foreign policy of Pakistan
- Understand the nature and dynamics of these regional and international organizations.

[212] Graham Evans and Richard Newnham*, Penguin Dictionary of International Relations,(*Penguin, 1998), 270.

8.1: United Nations Organisations (UNO) and Pakistan:

The United Nations Organisation (UNO) is an international body that has, to date, 193 member states of the world. These states are independent and sovereign and joined the UN to follow the charter, which has 111 Articles that describe the purposes, principles, and structure of the Organisation. The Charter was adopted unanimously on 25 June 1945. The UN has its headquarters in New York City. It was founded in 1945 after World War II, thus replacing the dysfunctional League of Nations, as it was unable to prevent a Second World War. The term United Nations was first coined by Franklin D. Roosevelt to describe the Allied countries. The UN was established as humanity could not afford a third war. The aim was to facilitate cooperation in international law, international security, economic development, social progress, human rights, and the achievement of world peace. The term was first officially used on 1 January 1942, when 26 governments signed the Atlantic Charter, pledging to continue fighting the war against the Axis Powers. [213] Officially, the UN came into existence on 24 October 1945 after the ratification of five permanent members of the UN Security Council-France, the Republic of China, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States—and by the 46 other signatory states. This meeting of the General Assembly and Security Council took place in Westminster Central Hall in London in January 1946. [214]
The UN has 4 main purposes: To keep peace throughout the world; To develop friendly relations among nations; To help nations work together to improve the lives of poor people, to conquer hunger, disease and illiteracy, and to encourage respect for each other's rights and freedoms; To be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations to achieve these goals.[215]

UN has offices around the world, and through its specialized agencies, it decides on substantive and administrative issues regularly at annual meetings. The organisation has six principal organs: the General Assembly (the main deliberative assembly); the Security Council (for deciding certain resolutions for peace and security); the Economic and Social Council (for assisting in promoting international economic and social cooperation and development); the Secretariat (for providing studies, information, and facilities needed by the UN); the International Court of Justice (the primary judicial organ); and the United Nations Trusteeship Council (which is currently inactive). Other prominent UN System agencies include the World Health Organization (WHO), the World Food Programme (WFP), and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). The UN's most prominent position is Secretary-General, which has been held by Ban Ki-moon of South Korea since 2007.[216]
The work of the United Nations reaches every corner of the globe. Although best known for peacekeeping, peacebuilding, conflict prevention, and humanitarian assistance, there are many other ways the United Nations and its System (specialized agencies, funds, and programmes) affect our lives and make the world a better place. The Organization works on a broad range of fundamental issues, from sustainable development, environment and refugees protection, disaster

[213] "History of United Nations," Department of Public Information, United Nations , http://www.un.org/en/aboutun/history/
[214] "Milestones in United Nations History," Department of Public Information, United Nations, accessed June 24, 2012, http://www.un.org/en/aboutun/history/1941-1950.shtml
[215] " United Nations at a glance" , Department of Public Information, United Nations, accessed June 24,210,http://www.un.org/en/aboutun/index.shtml
[216] "United Nations Secretariat," http://www.un.org/en/mainbodies/secretariat/index.shtml, accessed June 24, 2012

relief, counter-terrorism disarmament and non-proliferation, to promoting democracy, human rights, gender equality and the advancement of women, governance, economic and social development and international health, clearing landmines, expanding food production, and more, to achieve its goals and coordinate efforts for a safer world for this and future generations.[217] The United Nations has its main offices in Geneva, Nairobi, and Vienna. The organization is financed from assessed and voluntary contributions from its member states and has six official languages: Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian, and Spanish. [218]

8.1.2: Pakistan's role in the United Nations:

Pakistan joined the UN on September 30, 1947, and has been an active participant in the UN and its specialized agencies and other bodies, as well as in various specialized UN conferences. In 1993, Pakistan was elected to a two-year term on the UN Security Council. In addition, Pakistani nationals have contributed their skills to the UN itself. For example, in 1987, Nafis Sadik, a Pakistani woman physician, became executive director of the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) with the rank of undersecretary-general. Pakistan has also been the recipient of assistance from UN development organizations, including the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), in a variety of fields such as agriculture, water and sanitation, national planning, and human development. The UNDP, for example, allocated more than US$87 million for assistance to Pakistan for the 1992-96 program period.

Pakistan's view of the UN has necessarily been conditioned by its own needs and experience. Although recognizing the shortcomings and powerlessness of the UN in many situations, Pakistan has seen no alternative to the UN as a forum where weaker countries could appeal to the world's conscience against the actions of stronger powers. Consequently, Pakistan has called for solutions to international problems through UN auspices, most notably for the resolution of the Kashmir issue.[219]

Pakistan has sent troops abroad as part of United Nations (UN) peacekeeping efforts. The first such troops served in West Irian (as Indonesia's Irian Jaya Province was then called) in the 1962-63 period. In early 1994, Pakistan contributed two infantry battalions to the United Nations Protection Force in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNPROFOR BH) and two infantry brigades to the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM). Pakistan's contribution of 7,150 troops to UNOSOM was the largest single national contingent in any UN peacekeeping force in early 1994. At the time, Pakistan also had participating observers in some other UN missions in Croatia, the Iraq-Kuwait demilitarized border zones, Liberia, Mozambique, and Western Sahara. Pakistan also dispatched an armoured brigade to Saudi Arabia during the 1991 Persian Gulf War. However, it was assigned well away from the front--ostensibly to defend the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, thus reducing the possibility that any Pakistani troops might have somehow become involved in actual combat with Iraqi troops. [220]

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[217] " United Nations at a glance" , Department of Public Information, United Nations, accessed June24,210,http://www.un.org/en/aboutun/index.shtml

[218] "General Assembly of the United Nations – Rules of Procedure," UN Department for General Assembly, accessed June 24, 2012, http://www.un.org/en/ga/about/ropga/lang.shtml

[219] "Country Data", http://www.country-data.com/cgi-bin/query/r-9890.html, accessed June 24, 2012,

[220]Country Data, Pakistan: Foreign Security Relationships, http://www.country-data.com/cgi-bin/query/r-9914.html

Pakistan strongly supports the role of the United Nations in peacekeeping. We believe that UN peacekeeping operations are an important element of the United Nations' responsibilities, under its Charter, for the preservation of international peace and security. Accordingly, Pakistan has actively cooperated with and participated in UN peacekeeping efforts. We are one of the largest and most consistent participants in UN peacekeeping operations. Both our military and police personnel have been part of UN peacekeeping operations, and their services and contributions have won recognition and international approbation. Pakistan is itself the beneficiary of one of the oldest UN peacekeeping operations in the form of the UN Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP), which has been monitoring the ceasefire between India and Pakistan since January 1949 along the Line of Control in the disputed territory of Jammu and Kashmir. The stationing of UNMOGIP has been vital in keeping tensions along the Line of Control under check and in alerting the international community of incidents and escalation along the LoC. For this reason, Pakistan has called upon the UN Secretary-General to strengthen and enhance the mandate of UNMOGIP.[221]

Pakistan won a seat as a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) for a two-year term in 2011. Securing 129 out of 193 votes in the United Nations General Assembly – exactly the two-thirds majority required to win the seat, in a term that begins in January 2012 and will end in December 2013.[222]

8.2:Non-Alligned Movement(NAM):

The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) is a set of states that consider themselves not to align themselves with any of the major/superpower blocs. Till 2011, the movement had 120 members and 17 observer countries, and had completed its fifty years since its establishment in 1961. Along with member states, there are guest states and organizations that only participate in the conferences of the organization. [223] The organization was a brainchild of Yugoslavia's President, Josip Broz Tito, India's first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, Egypt's second President, Gamal Abdel Nasser, Ghana's first president, Kwame Nkrumah, Indonesia's first President, Sukarno, and Ethiopia's emperor Haile Selassie. These leaders were advocates of taking a middle path in dealing with the Western and Eastern blocs in the Cold War. The phrase itself was first used to represent the doctrine by Indian diplomat and statesman V.K. Krishna Menon in 1953, at the United Nations.[224] In the Havana Declaration of 1979, it was mentioned that this movement and organization is to ensure the national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and security of non-aligned countries in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid racism, including Zionism and all forms of foreign aggression occupation domination determination interference or hegemony as well as against a great power and bloc politics. Alignment is a conception that sees formal association with any alliance as reducing the freedom

[221] Government of Pakistan, http://www.pakistan.gov.pk/foreignaffairs-ministry/policies/pak-int/pak-un/un-peace/un-peace.jsp>

[222]Huma Imtiaz, "Pakistan wins temporary UN Council Seat" *The Express Tribune*, October 21,2011, http://tribune.com.pk/story/279024/pakistan-just-manages-to-win-non-permanent-member-seat-on-un-security-council/

[223]"The Non-Aligned Movement: Background Information," http://www.nam.gov.za/background/background.htm#1. GENERAL BACKGROUND

[224] Mohammad Khalid Ma'Aroof, *Afghanistan in World Politics: A Study of Afghan-U.S. Relations,* (Delhi: Gyan Books,1987), 75.

of a third-world nation.[225] President Kenneth Kuanda of Zambia elaborated this conception in the following words: "Non-Alignment is a determination to preserve independence, sovereignty and to respect that sovereignty and independence in other states and to decline to take sides in the major ideological struggles that rend the world. We will not hitch our carriage to any nation's engine and be drawn along their railway line." NAM summits are now forums for multilateral issues between developing countries. At the 2009 summit in Egypt's Sharm el-Sheikh, the Dominican Republic and the Palestinian Authority will establish diplomatic ties for the first time. In the last Summit meeting of Sharm el Sheikh in July 2009, Pakistan and India took steps towards the development of cordial relations with each other after the Mumbai attacks, as the dialogue and talks between the two countries were disbanded as a result of the attacks.

Pakistan is an active member of the non-aligned movement, and we can trace back to its very early participation in the movement as the first Bandung conference of 1955 was co-sponsored by Pakistan along with Sri Lanka, India, Burma, and Indonesia. Pakistan, however, did not participate in the Summit due to its membership in the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) and the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). Pakistan later on participated in NAM summits as a guest until it acquired full membership status in the 1979 Havana Summit. The last summit was held in Sharm el Sheikh, Egypt, on 16-16 July 2009, where the declaration praised the role of President of Cuba Raúl Castro Ruz, the President of the Republic of Cuba, for the significant progress achieved in the process of strengthening and revitalizing the Non-Aligned Movement, since the 14th NAM Summit in Havana. The declaration also welcomed the role of Egypt in convening the NAM's first Ladies Summit on " the Role of Women in Crisis Management," which reflected the importance attached by NAM to the active and equal participation of women in addressing global issues.

Pakistan has always stood by the principles of the Non-Aligned Movement and made admirable contributions to the cause of freedom and liberty, to the struggle against tyranny, colonialism, and racial discrimination. It has also represented the voice of a large majority of the newly independent and developing states in support of their common interests. It has made all efforts to raise the voice for the cause of freedom and respect for human rights, and Justice. Pakistan has also advocated the need for the Movement to continue to promote peace and economic development amongst its member states since the two are interrelated.[226] Without development, there can be neither peace nor security. Similarly, development cannot be attained in the absence of peace.

Pakistan has continued to play an important role in the deliberations of NAM and is regarded as one of its key members. We have substantially contributed to NAM's unity and solidarity, as well as giving the movement an independent and objective perspective. We have actively participated in the NAM Summits and Ministerial meetings. Pakistan has always played it active role in making NAM its consensus positions on issues like peaceful settlement of disputes, including Palestine and Kashmir, Nuclear disarmament, terrorism, economic development, and expansion of the Security Council.

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[225]"Summit Declarations of Non-Aligned Movement (1961-2009)",Institute of Foreign Affairs, IFA Tripureshwor, Kathmandu ,2011 , accessed June 24, 2012, http://www.ifa.org.np/pdf/Declaration%20of%20nam.pdf

[226] "Pakistan and Non Aligned Movement"
http://spaces.brad.ac.uk:8080/display/ssispsru/Pakistan+and+the+Non+Alligned+Movement+(NAM)

8.3: Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO):

The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) is a permanent intergovernmental international organisation creation of which was proclaimed on 15 June 2001 in Shanghai (China) by the Republic of Kazakhstan, the People's Republic of China, the Kyrgyz Republic, the Russian Federation, the Republic of Tajikistan, and the Republic of Uzbekistan. Its prototype is the Shanghai Five mechanism.

The main goals of the SCO are strengthening confidence and good-neighbourly relations among the member countries; promoting effective cooperation in politics, trade and economy, science and technology, culture as well as education, energy, transportation, tourism, environmental protection and other fields; making joint efforts to maintain and ensure peace, security and stability in the region, moving towards the establishment of a new, democratic, just and rational political and economic international order.[227]

Proceeding from the Spirit of Shanghai, the SCO pursues its internal policy based on the principles of mutual trust, mutual benefit, equal rights, consultations, respect for the diversity of cultures, and aspiration towards common development. Its external policy is conducted by the principles of non-alignment, non-targeting anyone, and openness.[228] The Heads of State Council (HSC) is the highest decision-making body in the SCO. It meets once every year to make decisions and give instructions on all important issues of SCO activity. The Heads of Government Council (HGC) meets once every year to discuss a strategy for multilateral cooperation and priority directions within the Organisation's framework, to solve some important and pressing issues of cooperation in economic and other areas, as well as to adopt the organisation's annual budget. Besides sessions of the HSC and the HGC, there are also mechanisms of meetings on the level of Speakers of Parliament, Secretaries of Security Councils, Foreign Ministers, Ministers of Defence, Emergency Relief, Economy, Transportation, Culture, Education, Healthcare, Heads of Law Enforcement Agencies, Supreme Courts and Courts of Arbitration, Prosecutors General. The Council of National Coordinators of SCO Member States (CNC) is in charge of coordinating interaction within the SCO framework. The organisation has two permanent bodies – the Secretariat in Beijing and the Regional Counter-Terrorism Structure in Tashkent. The SCO Secretary-General and RCTS Executive Committee Director are appointed by the HSC for three years. [229]

The SCO member states occupy a territory of around 30 million 189 thousand square kilometres, which makes up three-fifths of the Eurasian continent, and have a population of 1.5 billion, which makes up a quarter of the planet's population. Thus making a body that covers more than half the humanity, and if we add the observer states, then that makes it one of the largest organisations in terms of covering the mass of the earth. According to the Charter of the SCO, summits of the Council of Heads of State shall be held annually at alternating venues. The charter also dictates that the Council of Heads of Government (that is, the Prime Ministers) shall meet annually in a place previously decided upon by the council members. The Council of Foreign Ministers is supposed to hold a summit one month before the annual summit of Heads of State.[230]

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[227] " Brief Introduction of Shangai Cooperation Organization" Secretariat of Shangai Cooperation Organization, http://www.sectsco.org/EN/brief.asp

[228] Ibid.,

[229] Ibid.,

[230] "Charter of Shangai Cooperation Organisation," SCO official Website, http://www.sectsco.org/EN/show.asp?id=69

With the rise of SCO as an organization, with the strength of having four nuclear powers(two permanent members and two observers) in one regional network, a region rich in energy resources, mineral wealth, and almost half of humanity, the regional grouping has all the strength to present a balance to international politics. Along with this balancing act, there is a lot more than humanity can expect from this network of powerhouses. From Pakistan's perspective, the organization is very significant as its cementing of its ties with Central Asian States has been enhanced. Pakistan has expressed interest in engaging with the SCO since the organization's inception. When the "Shanghai Five" decided to form the SCO in early 2001, Pakistan was the first country to apply for "Observer" status. Initially, Pakistan's Afghan policy was a major stumbling block in joining the SCO, as Pakistan and some of the SCO member states were supporting opposite groups in the Afghan conflict. China has supported Pakistan's inclusion as both a member and an observer, while Russia was interested in simultaneously inviting India. At that time, India had expressed negligible interest in joining the SCO.[231]

At a meeting of the Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of SCO in June 2005, applications of Pakistan, Iran, and India were considered and approved, granting Observer status in the SCO at the Council of Heads of States Meeting in Astana on July 5, 2005. Pakistan was the first to apply for full membership in the organization. Pakistan believes that its geo-strategic location at the crossroads of Central South and West Asia offers it enormous opportunities for intraregional cooperation and integration.[232]

Pakistan, though still an Observer in the SCO, attaches great importance to the Organization and feels that there are many areas of common interest, and through the SCO it would not only benefit but could reciprocate as well in many ways. Once accepted as a full member of the SCO, Pakistan's operational area of security and economic considerations would be enlarged, thereby facilitating meaningful interaction with the SCO members, creating deeper trust and expanding cooperation in various fields. Although Pakistan has signed bilateral anti-terrorism cooperation agreements with some of the SCO member states, SCO's regional anti-terrorism structure (RATS) will help Pakistan institutionalize anti-terrorism cooperation in a more comprehensive manner and at a wider scale. In the last visit of President Zardari to Russia, the Russian leadership made positive gestures towards Pakistan's full membership in the SCO. It is hoped that Pakistan will be accepted as a member shortly and play its role in regional stability and prosperity.[233]

The Twelfth Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) Summit was held in Beijing on June 6-7, 2012, participated by all member states, including the observers and dialogue partners, to analyse, discuss, and review the significance of SCO in global affairs. After completing its successful twelve years of cooperation and collaboration, the summit at the end issued a declaration on Building a Region with Lasting Peace and Common Prosperity, thus defining the core policy guidelines for the organization for the years to come. One of the significant achievements of this summit was the formulation of a program on fighting terrorism, separatism, and extremism for 2013-2015, highlighting the plan to counter the activities of these "three forces" in the region. On the other hand, the summit granted observer status to Afghanistan and made Turkey, Sri Lanka,

[231] Fazal ur Rehman, "Pakistan keen to join SCO as full-member", China.org.cn, June 22, 2011, http://www.china.org.cn/opinion/2011-06/22/content_22838720.htm
[232] Ibid,.
[233] Ibid.,

and Belarus a dialogue partner, and has not yet signaled giving full member status to Pakistan and India. President Zardari, in his address, highlighted that Pakistan deserves and qualifies for a full member status in the organisation. SCO has transformed itself from a regional grouping to a global influential alliance and partnership for peace, cooperation, economic integration, and prosperity in the region. The changing dynamics of world and regional politics call SCO to improve its efforts to reinforce regional cooperation and security at a much further level. [234]

8.4:Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC):

Organisation of Islamic Cooperation(as of June 28, 2011, the name has been changed from Conference to Cooperation) is an International Organisation of 57 member Muslim states. The organization aims to have the collective voice of the Muslim world(Ummah), and an attempt has been made through this platform to ensure the safeguarding of the rights and interests of Muslims and work for their well-being around the globe. The organization has a permanent delegation in the United Nations and is the largest international organization outside of the United Nations. At the end of the Ottoman Empire and the Caliphate after World War I, there emerged a vacuum. Losing the Six-Day War in 1969 also led Muslim leaders from across the globe to meet at Rabat to lay the foundation of OIC. According to the OIC website, the council was created in 1969 following a summit in Morocco in the wake of the "criminal arson of Al-Aqsa Mosque in occupied Jerusalem." Though the act was perpetrated by an Australian Christian fanatic, the incident became emblematic of the struggle for control of Muslim holy sites in Jerusalem. The organization was originally formed around the idea of Muslim solidarity, particularly protecting the Islamic holy sites, assisting the Palestinian cause, eradicating racial discrimination, and improving economic cooperation.[235]

According to the charter of OIC, the OIC aims to preserve Islamic social and economic values; promote solidarity amongst member states; increase cooperation in social, economic, cultural, scientific, and political areas; uphold international peace and security; and advance education, particularly in the fields of science and technology.[236] With fifty-seven member countries and a total population of nearly 1.5 billion that is diverse ethnically, geographically, economically, and politically, Islam remains the only major commonality. Some experts say the organization has been ineffectual, but they also note its tremendous potential for addressing the issues facing Muslims. Advocates of reaching out to Muslims see the OIC as an important venue for the United States, but critics question whether engagement with the group is appropriate, considering some of the positions it has taken on issues such as Islamic radical movements, Israel/Palestine, and the human rights records of its members.[237]

Pakistan enjoys a high status in the OIC. It is because Pakistan is one of the largest members of the Islamic conference in terms of population, and also the most significant factor is its status as the Muslim Ummah's only nuclear state. It also has a highly disciplined and well-equipped world's seventh-largest military force, which can also produce high-quality military hardware within Pakistan. Through research at the National Engineering and Scientific Commission (NESCOM) and Defence, Science and Technology Organisation(DESTO), it is also contributing not only

[234] Editorial, The Diplomatic Insight (June, 2012).

[235]Ibid,.

[236] " Text of OIC Charter," Official website of OIC, http://www.oic-oci.org/page_detail.asp?p_id=53

[237] "Orgnaisaiton of Islamic Conference", Council on Foreign Relations, http://www.cfr.org/religion/organization-islamic-conference/p22563

quality research but also a high-quality labour workforce as well, which is working in various Islamic countries to provide technical assistance in various science and technological fields.
In line with OIC's strong stance against the illegal occupation of Palestine by Israel, Pakistan has continuously adopted a strong stance against Israel, while maintaining moral solidarity with Palestine. OIC has been instrumental in gathering support for Pakistan on the issue of Kashmir. Several declarations reiterated the need for just solutions to the issue according to the wishes and aspirations of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. During the OIC 1994 Conference in Tehran, Pakistan succeeded in persuading the member countries to create the "OIC Contact Group on Kashmir".
Following the 9/11 terrorist attack, the OIC began to rethink its core mission to address new challenges faced by the global Muslim community. In 2005, the conference adopted a ten-year plan to address issues such as terrorism, Islamophobia, poor governance, and economic disparities. It approved a broadened charter to reflect these issues three years later. "Poverty, illiteracy, epidemics, corruption, and the lack of equal opportunity and equal distribution of wealth force people to look for answers in different places," said OIC Secretary General Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu in a 2005 speech. "When these issues are not addressed properly by legitimate means, they are used as an excuse to push for extremist agendas."[238]
As an weather friendship with Pakistan-China, proved fruitful for OIC, since Pakistan remained a contact point between China and Pakistan.

8.5:South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC):

SAARC came into being in December 1985, with the adoption of its Charter in Dhaka as a dream by the President of Bangladesh, Mr. Zia Ur Rehman. Initially, it comprised seven members: Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, the Maldives, and Sri Lanka. The objectives were to promote the welfare of the people of South Asia and to improve their quality of living, by accelerating economic growth and contributing to the mutual trust, understanding, and appreciation of each other's problems. Along with member states, there are observer states as well, which include China, the European Union, Australia, Iran, Japan, Mauritius, Myanmar, South Korea, and the United States. Meetings of heads of state are usually scheduled annually; meetings of foreign secretaries, twice annually. It is headquartered in Kathmandu, Nepal. The SAARC Charter states that the Heads of State/Governments must meet once a year; however, they have met only 17[239] Times in the past 25 years. The raison d'etre of SAARC was an acceleration of economic growth and trade promotion, but a glance at the last 25 years shows that little has been achieved in that direction.

The SAARC aimed to enhance cooperation between the countries of the region, but was overshadowed by the presence of two nuclear-armed rivals, and the larger states, India and Pakistan, made this organization another battleground for the two. Initially, both were reluctant to be part of this sort of organization due to their various disputes, including the nuclear flash point " Kashmir". These kinds of disputes have marred the spirit of cooperation between the SAARC states. Many times the summits fell hostage to the rivalry between Pakistan and India as either side one reason or the other did not want to sit down at the table with the other. India has developed a mindset based on the concept of the economic progress it has achieved. It has always behaved like

[238] "Organization of Islamic Conference", Council on Foreign Relations, http://www.cfr.org/religion/organization-islamic-conference/p22563
[239] Summits were not held in 1989, 1992, 1994, 1996, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2003, 2006, 2009 and 2011, see Snedden, 'Some thoughts about the South Asian region'.

a hegemon, thus bullying the weaker nations. The link between India and Pakistan in a peaceful coexisting environment is obvious. This indifferent attitude in the SAARC by India has now been handled by adding new members to the group. Afghanistan has been added as a full member of SAARC. While China and Japan have been given observer status.[240]

In the field of social development, the story is similar. At each summit, a wide-ranging program of action was adopted. The proposals regarding tourism provide for the convertibility of currencies for tourists, commission on natural disasters, and SAARC awards to individuals for outstanding work in the fields of peace, development, and poverty alleviation. These projects have largely remained on the drawing boards. SAARC performance is, however, not entirely dismal. Despite failings, some significant achievements, such as the Convention for Terrorism, the Agricultural Information Center at Dhaka, SAFTA, SAPTA, and the Charter to set targets for the eradication of poverty, population stabilization, and human resource development fall into its credit.

From Pakistan's perspective, the role of SAARC needs a lot of revolutionary changes. Despite a lot of sincerity, devotion, and dedication to the aim, the SAARC organisation has yet not come up to the desired expectations of the people of Pakistan. It still seems toddling toward the achievement of the role assigned to it. A lack of coordination, a deficiency of harmony, and no doubt a very obvious scarcity of cooperation among the SAARC countries has been noticed, observed, and criticised. Moreover, there are so many inter-state disputes that are the main hindrance in the way to peace and prosperity of South Asian countries.[241]

Unless these bilateral disputes are resolved, the SAARC will continue giving less-than-expected performance in mutual interaction and business. There are certain other obstacles for SAARC countries, including the absence of a liberal trade regime and the lack of modern research in the fields of science, technology, and education. It is the result of a lack of political will to resolve these bilateral issues that, despite being home to over 20 percent of the world's population, South Asia accounts for only 1.5 percent of world GDP and just over one percent of world trade. The majority of the population in the SAARC countries is deprived of basic human needs.[242]
Looking back towards the past twenty-five years, it can be analyzed that while leadership agreed to achieve certain objectives, it left the hard task of implementation to decisions to be undertaken in future meetings. All the members of the SAARC states have shown great potential for economic development. The potential for foreign investors is huge, and the integration of the region is also on its smooth run after the easing.

[240] Safdar Mehmood*, International Affairs*, 2005, 500.
[241]Prof. Ali Sukhanver, "EU-SAARC co-operation: Pakistan perspective", South Asia Monitor, March 30,2012, http://southasiamonitor.org/detail.php?type=n&nid=1776
[242] Professor Ali Sukhanver, "Dont Let SAARC to die", March 24,2012, http://www.articlesbase.com/politics-articles/dont-let-saarc-die-5769728.html

Assessment Questions:

- Write a brief note on the United Nations.
- Explain the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)?
- Write a comprehensive note about the effectiveness of OIC in resolving issues in the Muslim world.
- What is the strategic significance of SCO and why is Pakistan eager to become its full member?
- Do you think that the South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC) is an effective organization? Explain.

Suggested Readings:

Irfan Shahzad. "Pakistan and Regional Cooperation Organizations: Towards a Futuristic Approach." *Policy Perspectives* 14, no. 1 (2017): 121–30. https://doi.org/10.13169/polipers.14.1.0121.

Misra, Ashutosh, and Michael E. Clarke, ed, *Pakistan's Stability Paradox: Domestic, Regional and International Dimensions*. London; New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2012. https://www.routledge.com/Pakistans-Stability-Paradox-Domestic-Regional-and-International-Dimensions/Misra-Clarke/p/book/9780415728256

Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, Brig (R) Muneer Mahmud, Mustansar Billah, ed, Pakistan and Changing Scenario: Regional and Global, Islamabad Policy Research Institute, 2008. https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/pbaaa585.pdf

Qureshi, Rahim Hayat, Pakistan and Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO), Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad, June 13, 2023, https://issi.org.pk/pakistan-and-economic-cooperation-organization-eco/

Unit 9

Pakistan and Economic Bodies

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Introduction

Pakistan has been facing ups and downs in its domestic economic structure. To support this important national interest, Pakistan applied for sufficient help and support from the world economic bodies and banks. These financial institutions have lent debts to Pakistan from time to time, and at the domestic political front, it has been disliked by the public to get support from these institutions. It is believed that these financial institutions are making Pakistan's economy weak in terms of generating its cycle of development. In this unit, we will be discussing various such institutions and the role of Pakistan in working with them.

Objectives

After reading this unit, you will be able to;

- Familiarize with the workings of various financial institutions.
- Understand Pakistan's economic needs and economic structure
- Analyze how Pakistan is working with these financial institutions

9.1: Economy of Pakistan:

At the time of partition, Pakistan inherited a fragile economic structure. There was inadequate banking infrastructure, poor agriculture, and a weak industrial base. Most of the technically skilled personnel had migrated to India, and educationally unskilled Muslim masses lacked the immediate capability to run the economic engines of the state. The refusal Indian government to transfer assets to Pakistan added to the plight. The early governments, nevertheless, put their efforts into foe economic uplift of the country. National-level efforts were launched along with an encouragement of private investment. Agricultural and industrial development banks (Agricultural Development Bank & Islamic Development Bank) were established.

These efforts played a vital role in economic development. However, constant political instability hindered economic prosperity. As such, Pakistan is profiled as a developing country. It has the economy that is 47th largest economy in the world in case of nominal terms. Pakistan has a semi-industrialized economy. The government attaches the highest priority to economic and social development. The agriculture sector is responsible for 21.8% of its economy, with cotton, rice, wheat, sugarcane, and maize as the major crops. Pakistan is an exporter of fruits, especially citrus, and fish and fish preparations. The industrial sector accounts for 24% of the economy. Textiles, chemicals, food processing, agriculture, pharmaceuticals, iron and steel, building materials, cement, fertilizers, sports goods, surgical goods, and leather goods are the mainstay of the industrial sector and the country's exports. Energy, IT, and small and medium-sized industries are among the fastest-growing sectors in the country.

Pakistan's role in the war on terror in the post-9/11 era put undue pressure on its economy. Foreign aid increases the inflation rate in the country. The 2008 democratically elected government inherited an economy with a current account deficit of 8.4 % of GDP. The Global Financial Crisis in the same year had a further impact on the country's economy. However, despite these challenges, the country has continued to gain economic stability. The focus is also laid upon grassroots economic uplift in terms of efforts like the Balochistan Package, Benazir Income Support Program, etc.

Pakistan's strategic location at the crossroads of Central Asia, South Asia, and South West Asia endows it with great potential to become a hub of economic activity. That is why, in addition to the available extensive rail and road network, the government is developing highways, railroads, and most significantly, the Gwadar Port has also been developed to link up adjoining regions of Central Asia and beyond. The government has also emphasised foreign investment. Efforts for trade and energy cooperation and connectivity have been initiated with countries like Tajikistan, Iran, China, and Turkey. Pakistan's resourcefulness and strategic position have a great potential to advance the economic development of the whole surrounding region.

Here in this unit, we will be discussing various international financial institutions and their role in the development of Pakistan's economy.

9.2: World Bank:

The World Bank is a vital source of financial and technical assistance to developing countries around the world. This bank is not an ordinary bank but a unique partnership to reduce poverty and support development. It is composed of two institutions managed by 188 member countries: the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the International

Development Association (IDA). The IBRD aims to reduce poverty in middle-income and creditworthy poorer countries, while IDA focuses exclusively on the world's poorest countries. These institutions are part of a larger body known as the World Bank Group. Established in 1944, the World Bank is headquartered in Washington, D.C. [243] The official goal of the World Bank is to reduce poverty and provide support for development. According to the World Bank's Articles of Agreement (as amended effective 16 February 1989), all of its decisions must be guided by a commitment to promote foreign investment, international trade, and facilitate capital investment.[244] The Bank is one of the five institutions that were created at the Bretton Woods Conference in 1944. Delegates from many countries attended the Bretton Woods Conference. The most powerful countries in attendance were the United States and the United Kingdom, which dominated negotiations. The World Bank is traditionally headed by the citizens of the United States, while the IMF is led by Europeans.

9.2.1: World Bank and Pakistan:

Pakistan joined the World Bank in July 1950. Since 1952, the World Bank has approved 266 loans and credits for Pakistan (100 loans and 166 credits), totalling more than US$15.7 billion, of which about US$9 billion remains outstanding. The FY06 ongoing portfolio consists of 17 projects under implementation with a net commitment of US$1.1 billion.[245] The World Bank does not work alone but in cooperation with various groups, including communities, civil society, government, and donor agencies. The joint effort of these groups is required to significantly reduce poverty. The World Bank provides technical expertise and funding in areas such as health, education, public administration, environmental protection, agriculture, and basic infrastructure.[246] The World Bank is working in various sectors at the Federal and Provincial levels in cooperation with the government to implement the proposed various reform programs aimed at encouraging growth, investment, and employment generation. In June 2007, the World Bank approved a US$350 million credit to support the ongoing implementation of the Government's Poverty Reduction Strategy. At the provincial level, the Bank approved operations worth US$430 million for Punjab, Sindh, and the North West Frontier Province to help improve irrigation, education, and human development indicators through improvements in public finance, governance, and financial regulatory frameworks. [247]

World Bank is also supporting and funding the Pakistan Poverty Alleviation Fund(PPAF), which is drafted in a way to reduce poverty and empower the rural and urban poor in Pakistan by providing resources and services to the poor, especially women. PPAF has issued 1.5 million

[243] " About us", Official Website World Bank,
http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTABOUTUS/0,,contentMDK:20103838~menuPK:1696997~pagePK:51123644~piPK:329829~theSitePK:29708,00.html
[244] Ibid,.
[245] "Country Brief: Pakistan," Case Study by PPAF Media & Communication unit World Bank,
http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPAKISTAN/Resources/PK06.pdf
[246]World Bank, Pakistan,
http://www.worldbank.org.pk/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/SOUTHASIAEXT/PAKISTANEXTN/0,,contentMDK:20158057~menuPK:417444~pagePK:1497618~piPK:217854~theSitePK:293052,00.html
[247] "Ten Things Worth Knowing About The World Bank in Pakistan"
http://www.worldbank.org.pk/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/SOUTHASIAEXT/PAKISTANEXTN/0,,contentMDK:20152499~pagePK:1497618~piPK:217854~theSitePK:293052,00.html

micro-credit loans (average loan US$ US$150), benefiting nearly 9 million people. Over the last 7 years, PPAF has driven the microfinance sector growth from 60,000 borrowers to more than 1.25 million active borrowers in the sector.[248]

9.3: International Monetary Fund (IMF):

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) is an organization of 188 countries, working to foster global monetary cooperation, secure financial stability, facilitate international trade, promote high employment and sustainable economic growth, and reduce poverty around the world.[249] It was created on July 22, 1944, at the Bretton Woods Conference and came into existence on December 27, 1945, when 29 countries signed the Articles of Agreement. The 44 governments represented at that conference sought to build a framework for economic cooperation that would avoid a repetition of the vicious circle of competitive devaluations that had contributed to the Great Depression of the 1930s. The IMF's primary purpose is to ensure the stability of the international monetary system—the system of exchange rates and international payments that enables countries (and their citizens) to transact with one another. This system is essential for promoting sustainable economic growth, increasing living standards, and reducing poverty. Following the recent global crisis, the Fund has been clarifying and updating its mandate to cover the full range of macroeconomic and financial sector issues that bear on global stability. [250] IMF has its headquarters in Washington DC. The IMF's resources are provided by its member countries, primarily through payment of quotas, which broadly reflect each country's economic size.[251]
Pakistan has been involved with the IMF for the last thirty years. However, it owes the IMF about $8 billion: $1.8 billion is due to be paid to the IMF in 2012, $3.9 billion in 2013 and $2.1 billion in 2014. Thus, in the absence of a new arrangement, Pakistan will have to repay a total net amount of $7.8 billion to the IMF in less than three years.[252] The foreign exchange reserves of the State Bank of Pakistan (SBP) at present amount to $11.8 billion. The country is running an annual current-account deficit of around $5 billion, to be financed largely by the drawdown of reserves.[253]
Viewing the IMF-Pakistan relations from the historical perspective of more than thirty years, the most important conclusion that emerges is that every government approached the IMF for financial help after the economy had been mismanaged for some time, only to avoid foreign exchange shortage, external debt default, and an economic crisis. They succeeded in getting external financial assistance and avoiding a crisis, but failed to undertake important economic reforms. Given the record of broken promises and abandoned programmes, both the government and the IMF should seriously review their track record for a more meaningful future arrangement that helps the country out of its deep-rooted problems, rather than bailing out a sitting government or avoiding turmoil in the international financial system. For the sake of Pakistan, both should change their approach.[254]

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[248] Ibid.
[249] " About IMF", http://www.imf.org/external/about.htm
[250]" Fact Sheet: IMF at glance", http://www.imf.org/external/np/exr/facts/glance.htm
[251] Ibid,
[252] Dr Muhammad Yaqub,"Pakistan and the IMF", *The News,* May 22, 2012 http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-9-109784-Pakistan-and-the-IMF
[253] Ibid,
[254] Ibid.,

9.4:Shangai Forum:

Shanghai Forum is an international economic forum hosted by Fudan University and sponsored by the Korea Foundation for Advanced Studies. As a communication platform for academic, political, and commercial circles, the Shanghai Forum has been held for five rounds with success and will witness the sixth round in May 2011. The forum invites leaders and elites of all fields to dialogue and collaborate to provide perspectives and advice for Asia's overall economic, political, social, and cultural progress. Under the general theme of "Economic Globalization and the Choice of Asia", the Forum takes its mission as "Concentrating on Asia, Focusing on Hot Issues, Congregating Elites, Promoting Interactions, Enhancing Cooperation and Seeking Consensus".[255]

9.5: Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD)

Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD) was a multi-governmental organization that was originally established in 1964 by Iran, Pakistan, and Turkey to allow socio-economic development of the member states. In 1979, this organization was dissolved. It was replaced by the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) in 1985.[256] The origin of ECO dates back to the 1950s. In 1955, the Baghdad Pact was formed with the participation of Turkey, Pakistan, Iran, Iraq, the USA, and the UK to block possible Soviet advances in the Middle East. Upon the withdrawal of Iraq from the Baghdad Pact in 1958 as a result of the pro-Soviet coup d'état, the Pact was renamed the Central Treaty Organisation (CENTO). However, CENTO's objectives were mainly military. Three regional member countries of the CENTO, Iran, Pakistan, and Turkey, formed a parallel but new alliance based on regional economic cooperation named the Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD) in 1964.[257] Among the main aims of RCD were:

- A Free or freer movement of goods through trade agreements,
- The formulation and implementation of joint projects,
- To undertake necessary studies for the construction and improvement of rail and road links
- To improve the air and maritime transport services within the region and to investigate possibilities of joint ventures in these fields.[258]

RCD began to function in 1965, the year when Pakistan went to war with India. The secretariat was formed in Tehran, Iran. During the first decades of its existence, RCD was very active in formulating many different projects ranging from liberalization of trade among member countries to various joint industrial, financial and transportation projects, Yet it has been able to achieve very little in terms of concrete and operation results as " despite numerous activities initiated in various sectors and the wide publicity given to the RCS, the latter could not make the impact expect of it. Its most glaring failures were in the field of industry and trade. Liberalization of the inter-regional trade is the sine qua non of the success of the regional economic organization, but RCS failed to provide a format for the expansion of trade. It also failed to provide a mechanize or the mobilization of the resources from within the region, with the result that its achievement in industrial collaboration remained rather meagre". It was therefore felt necessary to reorganize the whole structure of RCD.[259]

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[255]" Shangai Forum", http://www.shanghaiforum.fudan.edu.cn/english/enabout/index.aspx

[256] " Brief History of ECO" http://www.ecosecretariat.org/

[257] Salim IIlkin, "Economic Cooperation Organisation-A Short Note", http://www.ecosecretariat.org/

[258] ibid

[259] Ibid,

The summit conference was held in Izmir, Turkey, where the member countries adopted a new agreement called the Izmir Agreement. This agreement was vital in forming and regenerating the whole organization with a new outlook and approach. The most important change was the agreement on the "establishment of the RCD Free Trade Area within ten years". Before the ratification of the agreement, however, very important political changes took place in all member countries, which put the whole process in doldrums. The situation continued in 1984 because of the prevailing situation in the region and the international arena. [260]

9.6: Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO):

ECO is an intergovernmental regional organization established in 1985 by Iran, Pakistan, and Turkey for the sustainable socio-economic development of the Member States. ECO is the successor organization of the Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD). In 1964, Pakistan signed the RCD Pact with Turkey and Iran, when all three countries were closely allied with the USA, and as neighbours of the Soviet Union, wary of perceived Soviet expansionism. To this day, Pakistan has a close relationship with Turkey. RCD became defunct after the Iranian revolution. In 1985, a Pakistani-Turkish initiative led to the founding of the ECO, an organization that now also includes Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Iran, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan.[261]

ECO has played an important role in the strengthening and promotion of multi-dimensional cooperation and sustained socioeconomic growth among the member states. Besides strengthening the centuries-old ties that exist between the people of these countries, ECO was established to build infrastructural links and promote business exchanges and economic development. In terms of infrastructure, the ECO has focused on the development of a modern transport and communications system, a network of gas and oil pipelines, and the interconnection of power grids within the region. Pakistan's interest in ECO reflects its belief in regional cooperative arrangements, which foster regional development and economic progress and prosperity through collective endeavours. ECO is an effective instrument of regional cooperation serving the needs of 340 million people in the ten member states spread over an area of over 7 million square kilometres, an area immensely rich in natural resources, including oil and gas. The mutual relations of member-states exude harmony and cordiality.[262]

The member countries have huge potential for the promotion of regional trade and economic development, and this organization provides a platform to discuss and devise ways to do this. ECO has a focus on transport and communications infrastructure, trade and investment cooperation, and energy development collaboration. The following institutions have been established: ECO Science Foundation, ECO Cultural Institute, ECO Educational Institute, ECO Chamber of Commerce and Industry, ECO Trade & Development Bank, ECO Supreme Audit Institution, EC Shipping Company, ECO Consultancy & Engineering Company, ECO Reinsurance Company, ECO Drug Control Coordination Unit, and ECO Trade Promotion Unit.

To work closely with each other, ECO member states launched the ECO Preferential Trade Arrangement in 1991. The agreement aimed to expand trade and other economic cooperation amongst the states through reciprocal exchange of concessions to equitably benefit all ECO countries, take to benefit all ECO countries, take into consideration their diverse levels of

[260] Ibid

[261] "Brief History of ECO", http://www.ecosecretariat.org/

[262] Ibid,.

economic and industrial development and respective trade policies.[263] The agreement gives a blueprint for engaging in a step-by-step process to envisage the exchange of tariff concessions in raw, intermediate, and manufactured goods. It provides lower Tariffs and other Non-tariff preferential treatment to goods coming from the member countries than to goods coming from outside the region.[264] An excellent analytical report [265] Has provided a comprehensive analysis of Pakistan's trade relations with member countries. The report suggests a dismal picture of the trade between the countries of the region. Although the region has potential, but needs to be tapped and harnessed through joint efforts that as having practical measures and steps towards the right direction. Of the two much-talked-about projects in the ECO region, the pipeline from Turkmenistan via Afghanistan to Pakistan and onward to India is one. But given the hurdles in the way, especially the Afghan war and the insurgency in Fata, no one has pledged funds. The Iran-Pakistan gas pipeline is, relatively speaking, in an advanced stage, but many obstacles remain to be overcome.[266]

There is another Transit Transport Framework Agreement (TTFA) signed by the Economic Cooperation Organisation (ECO), which is meant to enhance the cooperation in transportation and communications. ECO member states signed the TTFA, and to make it an effective mechanism, set up five committees:

Islamabad-Tehran-Istanbul transport corridor committee; road committee; insurance committee; transit trade committee; and transit transport coordination council. The ECO member countries were presently engaged in mutual consultations to give practical shape to the road cargo service. To get the maximum benefits, the International Road Transport Union has stressed the need for capacity building of Pakistani transporters and offered its services in this regard. The transport industry in Turkey has made tremendous progress over the past few years and has offered Pakistan to benefit from its experience. On the pattern of the European Union, ECO countries are likely to issue 'ECO visas' to drivers and transporters of member countries. This measure is aimed at extending the scope of trade activities to the countries of the European Union so that our transport can also get access to Europe. Pakistan has already proposed six important routes for boosting commercial activities with Iran and Turkey.

Assessment Questions:

- Write a note on the Economy of Pakistan and its current trends. Consult newspaper articles.
- What is the role of the IMF in Pakistan's economy?
- Evaluate the role of the Economic Cooperation Organisation (ECO) in creating economic integration within the Muslim world.

Suggested Readings:

- Pakistan Economic Survey 2011-2012, Ministry of Finance, Pakistan.

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[263]Dr. Jahangir Achakzai & Dr. Zahid Marwat, "An Analysis of The Pak-Eco Recorded Trade During The Decade 1993-2003", http://www.asc-centralasia.edu.pk/Issue_65/04_An_Analysis_of_the_PAK.html(accessed 15 June 2012)

[264] Ibid,.

[265] Ibid,.

[266] Editorial*, Dawn (Islamabad),* 25 December, 2010, http://www.dawn.com/2010/12/25/eco-summit.html